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The Flow of Life: Essays on Eastern Indonesia

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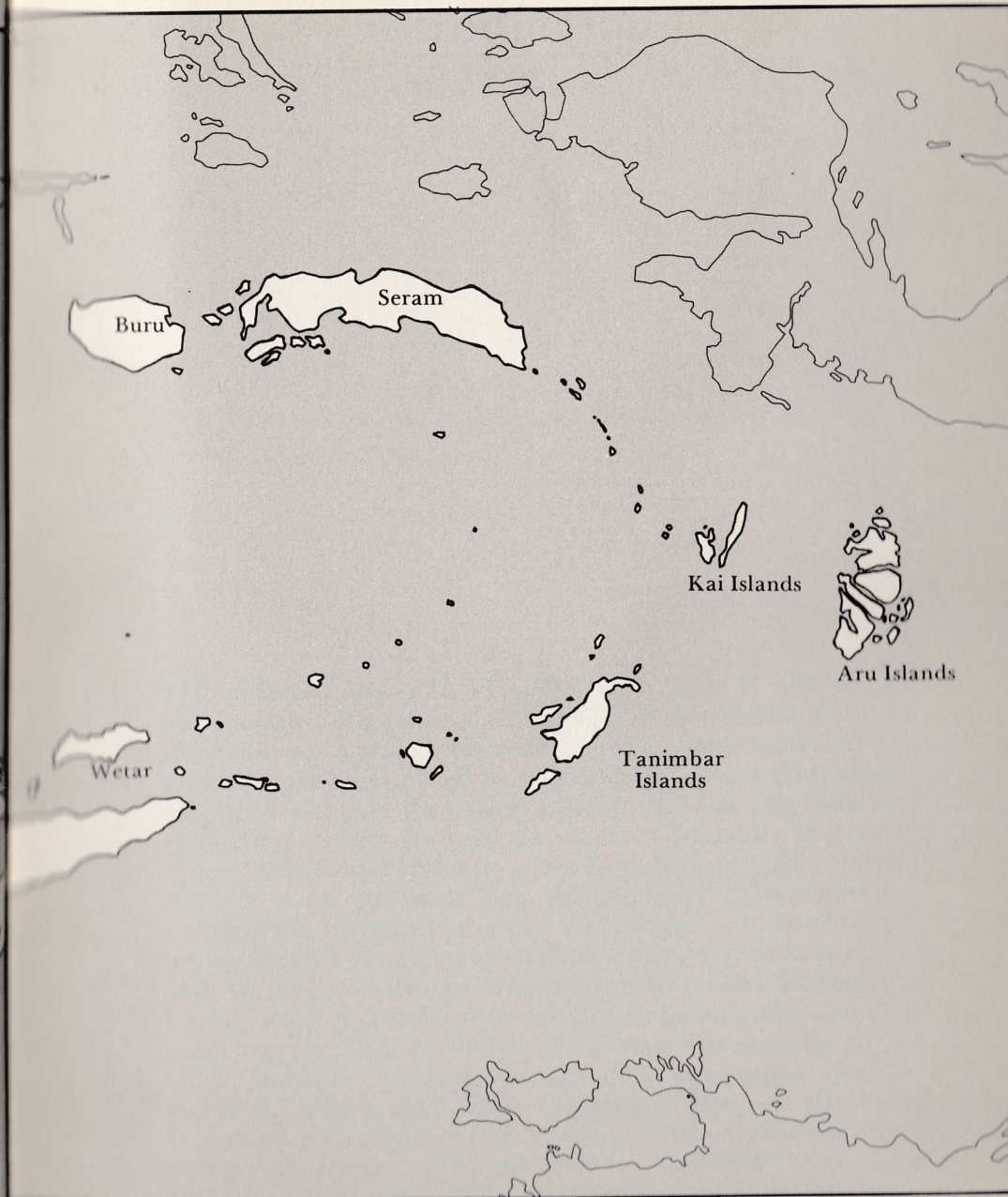
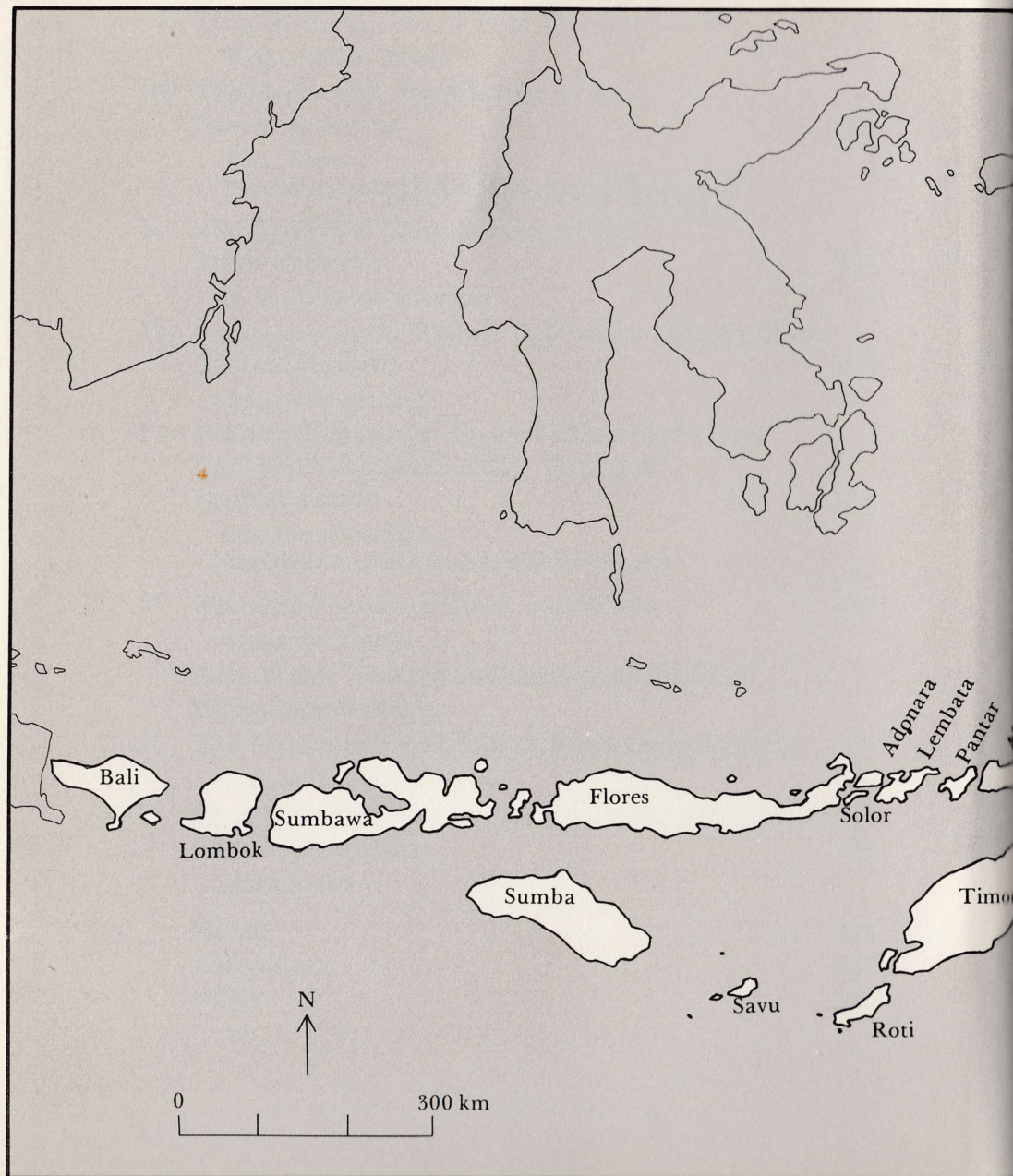
*To the memory of J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong
and to F. A. E. van Wouden*

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The Flow of Life



Introduction

James J. Fox

THE ESSAYS IN THIS VOLUME form both a collaborative consideration of a number of societies on the islands of eastern Indonesia and a critical commentary on a classic work in Dutch anthropology that defined these islands as a "field of ethnological study" of major theoretical interest. As such, this collection is an effort to carry forward the program originally envisioned in the 1930s by the Professor of Anthropology at Leiden University, J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong, and his students. Their goal was to document the societies of eastern Indonesia, to measure theory against the ethnographic realities encountered in fieldwork, and, thereby, to advance anthropological understanding to a further level of comparative insight. Unfortunately, this program was curtailed by World War II and frustrated by subsequent political events. Since that time, theoretical developments in anthropology have superseded some of the more speculative reflections of this "Leiden school of anthropology"; yet its comparative vision has remained unaffected. An assessment of the increasing anthropological research in eastern Indonesia has been long overdue, and the clear and obvious starting point for such an assessment is the most important comparative work of that early period—F. A. E. van Wouden's doctoral dis-

sertation, *Sociale structuurtypen in de Groote Oost*, which was supervised by de Josselin de Jong and published in Leiden in 1935.

With one exception, all the contributors to this volume have undertaken fieldwork in eastern Indonesia. All have relied on van Wouden's thesis to prepare and focus their attentions, but each contributor has also drawn on other theoretical sources to frame his or her research. The papers in this volume therefore express common interests without any strict unanimity of views. Their diversity reflects the fact that their authors do not belong to a single school of thought. Just as anthropological theory has expanded enormously since the 1930s, so too it has become an international endeavor. It was not left to Dutch researchers alone to carry out fieldwork in eastern Indonesia. Thus, the contributions here represent research that is being conducted by anthropologists from Britain, France, the Netherlands, the United States, Indonesia, and Australia. Such international scholarship attests to the far-reaching effect that van Wouden's thesis has had since its publication.

Van Wouden successfully defended his dissertation on February 28, 1935. Written in Dutch and originally published in a limited edition, a 190-page thesis that dealt with a number of little-known islands in the East Indies could hardly have seemed a work destined to exert a major influence on anthropological theory. Dutch scholars referred to it, and virtually everyone who contemplated research in eastern Indonesia turned to it at one time or another. Otherwise it remained obscure.

Despite its potential importance, thirty-three years passed before the thesis appeared in a more accessible form. In 1968, the Royal Institute for Linguistics, Geography and Ethnology of the Netherlands published an English translation by Professor Rodney Needham, who was himself among the first to recognize its merits when he was a graduate student in Leiden in 1950. The title of this translation (to which all the papers in this volume refer) is *Types of Social Structure in Eastern Indonesia*. At the same time as the English translation was being prepared, the late Dr. Louis Berthe prepared a French translation under the title *Les structures sociales de l'Indonésie orientale* which has yet to be published.

The enhanced accessibility of van Wouden's work has led to its reappraisal. In retrospect, the thesis can be seen as an early example of structuralism: one of the first systematic studies of the implications of different rules of cross-cousin marriage and of the patterns of exchange that these rules entail. As some com-

mentators (Heusch, 1963, pp. 33–34) have recognized, it is an evident precursor to Claude Lévi-Strauss's *Les structures élémentaires de la parenté* (1949) and is thus related to the research of Leach, Needham, and others on the topic of prescriptive alliance. For those interested in theories of alliance it can no longer be overlooked.

While it is useful to recognize van Wouden's contribution to the study of kinship and marriage, other commentators (Needham, 1968b, p. xii; Fox, 1970, p. 337; Cunningham, 1971, p. 844) have pointed out that the thesis is not a narrowly conceived study of certain types of marriage. It is primarily a study of social classification premised on the assumption that marriage is the "pivot" to a comprehensive organization of cosmos and society. This emphasis in van Wouden's study testifies to the decisive influence of French sociology. The only major theoretical work that van Wouden cited in his bibliography was Durkheim and Mauss's essay "De quelques formes primitives de classification" (1903; translated by Needham as *Primitive Classification*, 1963). Even the term "connubium," used in reference to the exchange of women and generally associated with Dutch anthropology of the 1930s, derives from this essay (1903, p. 8; 1963, p. 11). This continuity of van Wouden's work—indeed that of the entire Leiden school—with the sociological traditions of Durkheim and Mauss accounts for implicit relationships between his work and other studies within this same tradition (P. E. de Josselin de Jong, 1972). Thus, van Wouden's thesis can also be seen as a critical analysis of myth and social symbolism, of dyadic and triadic modes of representation, and of dual sovereignty—all of which are topics that have subsequently become important subjects of anthropological investigation.

In his study, van Wouden focused on a particular region, defined it in terms of certain characteristics, developed a model to account for these characteristics, and then endeavored to carry out a series of circumscribed comparisons between particular societies of the area. Cunningham (1971, p. 844) has argued that this comparative approach—essentially a detailed examination of the social variation within a "field of ethnological study" as defined by J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong (1935)—foreshadowed later calls for controlled comparison by Eggan (1954) and Evans-Pritchard (1965). Ottino (1972, p. 116), in particular, has described van Wouden's work as a "fruitful" step in the study of variations in regional social organization and in the explication of these variations in ecological and historical terms.

There are dangers, however, in all such retrospective ap-

praisals. The tendency is, on the one hand, to attach too much significance to seeming insights, which at best were mere suggestions, and, on the other hand, to ignore elements of an argument that were vital at the time but that have since proved less valuable in the development of theory. Van Wouden's thesis was definitely a product of its period. It was partially concerned with the supposed problem of development from matriliney to patriliney, to which the concept of double-unilineal (or double-unilateral) descent provided the key. Van Wouden's model of eastern Indonesian societies also purported to be a theoretical reconstruction of an ancient Indonesian social structure. Instead of attempting to explain variation in terms of ecology or history, van Wouden attributed the wide range of variation to the differential breakdown of this former order. Few anthropologists today would agree with Rassers's comment that van Wouden entirely succeeded in "the theoretical reconstruction of the form of organization to which circulating connubium belongs" (1959, p. 279). The present volume is, therefore, neither a eulogy of van Wouden's thesis nor an exhaustive retrospective assessment of it. Rather, it consists of a series of essays, each of which examines a specific society in eastern Indonesia in the light of van Wouden's pioneering efforts.

The person who initiated this kind of specific analysis of eastern Indonesian society was van Wouden himself. He first became interested in anthropology during the course of a training program for administrative officers in the Dutch Colonial Service. On receiving his doctorate, he made his way to the Netherlands East Indies and was posted to Gorontalo (at the far northern end of the island of Sulawesi). He served there for four years as a government linguist from 1935 to 1939, was posted to Batavia for a short time, and then returned to northern Sulawesi in May 1940 to undertake anthropological research in Kotamobagu in the Bolaang Mongondow district of Manado. On the basis of this research, he published one long article on the historical narratives of Buol (van Wouden, 1941). Late in 1941, van Wouden was mobilized for military service but was soon taken prisoner and was interned in the Japanese prison camp at Ujung Pandang in southern Sulawesi from March 1942 to August 1945. After his release, he continued to serve as a government linguist in Ujung Pandang, Kotamobagu, and Jakarta. From 1951 to 1954, he was a member of the Faculty of the University of Indonesia in Jakarta. In 1955, he returned to Europe and shortly thereafter he decided to retire after twenty years of service in Indonesia.

Fortunately, van Wouden's appointment in anthropology at the University of Indonesia allowed him to undertake a brief period of research in 1951–1952. For the first time in his career—more than fifteen years after he had completed his doctorate—van Wouden had the opportunity to assess his own theoretical arguments in terms of fieldwork in the area defined by his thesis. He chose the district of Kodi in west Sumba and eventually published an important article on his research (van Wouden, 1956, English translation, 1977).

Van Wouden chose Kodi as the site for this research precisely because it offered a prime example of a system of double descent. In his thesis, he had argued that double descent was the essential basis of, as well as the original form for, asymmetric exchange: "This asymmetric connubium appears to be based essentially on a double-unilateral system in which both patrilineal and matrilineal clans operate side by side in the organisation of the tribe" (1968, p. 163). He even went as far as suggesting that the original dual organization that he had postulated for all of eastern Indonesia survived in Kodi in its most "intact state" (1968, p. 153).

Fieldwork, however, made it obvious to van Wouden that in Kodi there is no system of asymmetric alliance as is found in other areas of eastern Indonesia or, more specifically, in the eastern parts of Sumba itself. Kodi thus presented a major challenge. Hence, his study of Kodi must be read not just as an ethnographic account of the social organization of that district but as a commentary on a crucial argument in his thesis. For van Wouden, the resolution of the problem lay, not in the abandonment of a bilineal principle of opposing male and female lines, but in the recognition of the relative emphasis given to these principles in particular areas. His conclusion was almost the reverse of his previous contention. In east Sumba, clans or lineages are linked by "a system of unilateral marriage relations"; the role of the matrilineal line is, however, circumscribed to such a degree that the whole system has undergone "a remarkable development, but at the cost of double descent" (1977, p. 218). In Kodi, on the other hand, "exactly the opposite happened. There are no fixed marriage arrangements, but the bilineal principle has been developed to an unusual extent" (1977, pp. 218–219). This abandonment of double descent as a necessary concomitant of asymmetric exchange was more than an adjustment of his argument. It marked an advance in van Wouden's entire approach. Instead of attempting to construct a model of an ancient Indonesian social structure on the basis of fragmen-

tary evidence from various societies, van Wouden noted the "structural coherence" of opposing systems whose historical divergence is a question "so complex and encompassing that it is doubtful that it could ever be properly posed, let alone answered" (1977, p. 219). More important, instead of forcing all evidence to meet the requirements of a single procrustean model, van Wouden was willing, as his conclusions imply, to recognize the possibility of systemic change along a number of dimensions.

By fortunate circumstance, in 1954-1955—a year prior to the publication of van Wouden's study of Kodi—Rodney Needham undertook fieldwork in west Sumba, both in Kodi and in Mamboru. His essay, the first in this volume, also is directed at the problem of variation. He postulates a set of six principles (identity, duality, inequality, asymmetry, complementarity, and non-transitivity) that "are taken to be fundamental to the structure of Sumbanese society and hence common to the variety of its institutions." From this vantage point he discusses possible "developmental connections among the variant forms of Sumbanese society" and compares these with the "wider variety of social forms" on other islands in eastern Indonesia, particularly those with prescriptive terminologies.

Needham's essay establishes the theme of the volume. Subsequent essays examine, in ethnographic detail, further instances of social and symbolic variation. Although each is concerned with a specific society, the cumulative effect of these essays is to provide, for the first time, some conception of the range of variation that exists in eastern Indonesia. An idea of this variation is necessary to any comparative model of the societies of the area. Since this is the first comparative study of eastern Indonesia to appear since van Wouden's thesis, it would be unreasonable to expect more than an initial outline of such a model. Nevertheless, individual contributors, following lines set forth by van Wouden, Needham, and others, address and analyze specific theoretical concepts (alliance, prescription, duality, symmetry, asymmetry) as a means of understanding the societies with which they are dealing.

Since van Wouden argued that marriage was the pivot of the activities of social groups, he examined connubial relationships before going on to examine more complex issues of symbolic classification. In conformity with his approach, this book is divided into two major parts. The essays in the first deal primarily with marriage and alliance; those in the second, with models of

encompassing social, political, or cosmic classification and their expression in myth and ritual. Within each part, essays follow a rough geographical progression, beginning with Sumba, in the west, and proceeding through Flores and Timor to Seram, in the Moluccas. The third part concludes the volume with a brief consideration of eastern Indonesia as an ethnological field of study.

So much critical attention has been devoted since 1935 to the examination of the nature of marriage and to the notion of alliance that it would be pointless for the contributors to carry out analyses based exclusively on van Wouden's original distinctions. Even van Wouden, in his essay on Kodi, drew on Lévi-Strauss's work (1949) on the subject. Yet there is still conceptual continuity. Van Wouden's distinction between ordinary cross-cousin marriage and exclusive cross-cousin marriage corresponds to Lévi-Strauss's distinction between restricted exchange and generalized exchange. Both distinctions, in turn, correspond to Needham's main types of prescriptive alliance, symmetric and asymmetric. Neither van Wouden nor Lévi-Strauss was wholly unambiguous about the criteria for distinguishing these types of marriage patterns. But for Needham, whether a system is prescriptive and, furthermore, whether a prescriptive system is symmetric or asymmetric are determined from an examination of its relationship terminology: "A prescriptive terminology can be defined as one that is 'constituted by the regularity of a constant relation that articulates lines and categories'" (Needham, 1973a, p. 174). This determination does not, however, indicate the ways in which alliances are actually contracted. Such matters remain a subject for empirical investigation.

By these criteria, the essays in Part One deal with both prescriptive and nonprescriptive systems. The papers by Barnes on the Kédang, Clamagirand on the Ema, and Valeri on the Huaulu consider societies with prescriptive systems; my chapter on the Rotinese and Forman's on the Makassae concern societies with nonprescriptive systems. The essay by Gordon on the Manggarai is significant: Needham (1966) has argued that the Manggarai have a prescriptive terminology; Gordon argues, on the basis of his own fieldwork, that they do not. This disagreement is not on the criteria for determining terminological prescription but, rather, on the interpretation of specific diagnostic features for such prescription in the Manggarai terminology.

Needham (1968a, pp. 327–328) has defined terminology as an important strategic level in the analysis of alliance systems to which the most rigorous and intensive investigations must be devoted. He has also directed attention to the relationships between terminological categories and other categories of social classification. The effect, however, of this emphasis has been to create an analytic separation between cultural categories and social action. “Prescribed marriage,” as Needham has noted, “is logically quite distinct from a prescribed terminology: there is no necessary correspondence between categories and social action, and therefore neither can be inferred from the other” (1973a, p. 177). This distinction has potential implications that have only begun to be explored. But insofar as alliance is concerned with specific marriage and exchange relationships, it is evident that terminological analysis represents only one aspect of an ethnographic examination. From a terminology, we can deduce neither the nature nor the structure of the units that are allied, nor can we discern the level or levels at which these alignments occur. Alliance is a relationship, and, as often as descent, it serves to define the units to which it applies.

In this context, Barnes’s essay is of special significance. In Kédang, on Lembata, there is a prescription to marry a person who belongs to the category *mahan*, which for a man includes the genealogical mother’s brother’s daughter and for a woman the father’s sister’s son (Barnes, 1974a, pp. 265–281). Marriage is a private affair, but bridewealth payments are the responsibility of the clans, most of which, though strictly exogamous, claim agnatic relationships with one another. For purposes of marriage, agnatic relationships outside the clan are disregarded. Whereas individual marriages follow an asymmetric injunction, clans can be in a symmetric relationship with one another as both wife-giver and wife-taker. Quoting Dumont, Barnes remarks that “insofar as affinal alliance is concerned, ‘the system does not exist as a whole.’ With the exception of bridewealth, the various aspects of alliance work themselves out below the level of the clan, but below the clan level the system loses itself in a mass of particular arrangements.”

One important suggestion that Barnes makes for understanding marriage in Kédang is that clans are not political corporations and hence their involvement in alliance is not exploited for political ends. Alliance has no “political content.” A related argument has been put forward by Valeri in a recent two-part article on alliance and marriage exchange in central Seram

(1975–1976). He distinguishes alliances from exchanges. Alliances are permanent political alignments that are asymmetric and irreversible; they are maintained by elder lines. Exchanges, on the other hand, are secondary relationships; they also are asymmetric but potentially reversible, and they are contracted by younger lines. This creates a situation that resembles to some extent the one in Kédang. Marriage is prescribed with the matrilinear cross-cousin (*kaefini*). All marriages are asymmetrically contracted, but for large clanlike units (such as the *soa*), the sum total of marriages may produce a global symmetry. The difference between these cases lies in the political weight given to certain marriages. Thus, as Valeri clearly notes, structural relativity is inherent in the concept of alliance.

A political understanding of eastern Indonesia, as most contributors suggest, is critical to an appreciation of alliance relationships. The majority of the peoples of eastern Indonesia were formerly organized into small states that had their own rulers or into local communities, often centered around particular cult sites, with chiefs and ceremonial leaders. These states or communities (which are referred to by various contributors as princedoms, domains, districts, or territories) were gradually incorporated by colonial governments—Dutch or Portuguese—into an administrative system of indirect rule. The varying structures of these local units and the differing effects that indirect rule had on them have created a complex pattern of political relationships. In many areas, the alliance relationships that provided a foundation for local social and political organization in the past have continued despite official changes in formal administration. Francillon provides a brief history of the administrative changes to which Wehali, the most important native state on Timor, has been subjected during the twentieth century, whereas Schulte Nordholt, a former Dutch administrator, offers a glimpse of the complex political underpinnings of alliance and, indeed, of the entire conceptual order of the Atoni of Timor.

My own essay, which includes a brief historical consideration of state structure on the island of Roti, concentrates on the political organization of alliance relationships in only one of the 18 small domains on Roti. This domain, Thie, also offers a contrast with Kédang. In Thie, there is no categorical prescription, nor are bridewealth payments the responsibility of the clans. Clans are the titled groups that compose the domain and constitute its

political units. They are exogamous and are grouped into moieties, one of which is further divided. Marriage within the domain is supposed to accord with these divisions, and, in fact, the overwhelming majority of marriages do conform to the rules. This marriage pattern is achieved, however, not by prescriptive direction, but by proscriptive injunction (sanctioned by the loss of bridewealth and by court-imposed fines) that prevents people from marrying within their division. Although the people of Thie hold different symbolic interpretations of the structure of their domain, they insist that there is a system that exists as a whole. It is part of their social identity—a political ideal that in practice permits a range of marriage relationships, but within a strictly defined order.

Brigitte Clamagirand's essay is a further exploration of the same theme. She examines the core houses that constitute Ema society in terms of their private and communal spheres. "The community," she writes, "is regarded as a specific entity with its own personality which gives it an existence different from that of a simple accumulation of core houses." Marabo consists of a hierarchy of core houses divided into exogamous groups of the east and the west that are mediated by three chiefly houses that control the circulation of women between the other two groups.

Like Gordon in his analysis of Manggarai marriage, Clamagirand considers the various native categories of alliance, including ones that short-circuit proper marriage cycles. She is less interested in dissecting alliance in terms of certain abstract types than in examining it as a process of political alignment phrased in a native idiom. It is at this level that comparative insights begin to emerge.

The essays in this volume converge on the identification of a number of crucial social categories employed by the various peoples of eastern Indonesia. Among the Austronesian speakers, many of these categories form part of a common cultural heritage, and frequently the terms that designate these categories are themselves recognizable cognates. A consideration of a few of these categories suggests the broad outline of a framework within which comparisons are possible.

Generally, throughout the area the house, built according to strict principles and intended to reflect the social and cosmic order, is a structure of symbolic importance (Cunningham, 1964, pp. 34–68; Francillon, 1967, pp. 206–302; Schulte Nordholt, 1971, pp. 428–432; Fox, 1973, pp. 345–359; Barnes, 1974a, pp. 65–77; Clamagirand, 1975b, pp. 35–60; Gordon, 1975, pp.

160–163; Kana, chapter 10 in this volume). As van Wouden noted in his article on Kodi, however, “a house is a structure in more than a material sense” (1977, p. 192). In many eastern Indonesian societies, the category of “house” defines and often locates a descent group of a varying segmentary order.

Adams, for example, describes the house (*uma*) on Sumba in its different segmentary manifestations as representing either a “clan” or a “lineage.” In each ceremonial center, houses “provide clan headquarters and temples for the various patrilineages.” This situation is similar to that in Manggarai, where named, tenuously linked clans are represented in each village by particular “clan” houses, which vary in size from large multi-family to simple single-family dwellings. These houses, as Gordon has argued, “form the social and ceremonial focus of life in Manggarai” (1975, p. 160).

The Savunese *amu* and the Rotinese *uma*, though of a lesser segmentary order than either a clan or a lineage, are, as both Kana and I have indicated, the principal structural units that are concerned with matters relating to land, property, and marriage. Schulte Nordholt describes the Atoni *ume* as a marriage-contracting “patrilineage”; Clamagirand states that a core house (*umar no apir*) is “the minimal social unit of Ema society” that fixes the network of marriage alliances; and Traube defines the Mambai house (*fada*) as a “localized patrilineage of two or three generations in depth.” Like the Ema and Tetun words, the Mambai term for “wife-giver” (*umaena*) is based on the root “uma.” According to Forman, “membership in and affinity with a named sacred lineage house (*oma bese*) are clearly recognized both within and without the house and are often used to locate a person in the Makassae social universe.” Friedberg describes a similar situation among the Bunaq, who use the term *deu* to mean both a dwelling and a descent group; “according to tradition, all members of one lineage are supposed to live under the same roof.” Among the southern Tetun studied by Francillon, the *uma* forms a “local exogamic extended matrilineage,” the largest “husband-giving” group in the society (Francillon, 1967, pp. 331–332). An excellent example of this use of the concept of a house is also provided by Valeri. Among the Huaulu of Seram, the terms for wife-giver and wife-taker literally mean “male veranda” and “female veranda.” Valeri writes that “‘veranda’ here is a synecdoche for ‘house’ (*luma*): it symbolizes the social group associated with the *luma* in its relationship to another group.”

“House,” we may conclude, is a fundamental cultural cate-

gory used in eastern Indonesia to designate a particular kind of social unit. Although remarkably flexible in its range of applications, the category has certain associated characteristics. The house, by its nature, implies some idea of localization (or origin) that is ultimately centered on a specific physical structure. The relational categories of elder/younger are commonly used to distinguish between lines within houses, among houses, or even among more widely defined groups that claim a relationship to one another as houses would. These categories entail hierarchy but do not specify the sex to which this hierarchy need apply. Hence, in those societies with patrilineal groups, the categories of elder/younger refer to a group of male agnates; while among the matrilineal Tetun, they refer to a group of closely related women (Francillon, 1967, p. 332). Allowing for the continuing process of segmentation implied by the use of these categories, it might seem that the house, in its localized manifestations, tends to define the minimal exogamous group primarily, though not exclusively, involved in the actual arrangement of marriages. The various societies of eastern Indonesia seem to differ widely, however, in the extent to which they possess other, higher-level structural groupings of a political or ritual nature that further affect the arrangement of alliances.

Alliance in eastern Indonesia is concerned with the transmission of life. Clamagirand describes this for the Ema as "the flow of life which circulates by means of women." In a similar way, the Rotinese refer to this affinal relationship as their "path of life." The Atoni describe a proper marriage relationship as a "path connecting two houses." Both the Atoni and the Mambai, for example, distinguish between a man's marital path (Atoni: *mone lalan*; Mambai: *maen dan*) and a woman's marital path (Atoni: *fe lalan*; Mambai: *hin dan*) (Traube, 1977, p. 120). In making these distinctions, both societies give a clear asymmetric cast to their conception of alliance. But the very notion of alliance implies a direction to the flow of life since it is women who are perceived as the providers of this life. Hence, one can argue, as Valeri has, that asymmetry is entailed by the use of the categories of male and female to designate groups linked in alliance.

This "flow of life" is synonymous with the transmission of a woman's blood, the vital fluid that, united with semen, produces the human person. Implicit in this conception, which Valeri calls "the ideology of the transmission of blood in the female line," is the idea of a return or reunion of life: the "life" that a

brother and a sister share can be restored only by the marriage of their children or the descendants of their children; in other words, the life, or blood, that a sister takes with her when she marries may be returned to her brother's group through her daughters.

The way in which this ideal is conceived of or realized in eastern Indonesian societies of the area varies considerably. Onvlee (1973, pp. 46–56) has provided some idea of this conception for Sumba. Clamagirand indicates the situation among the Ema, who maintain both a matrilineal prescription and a norm of a four-partner marriage cycle. According to Barnes, the Kédang, who observe a matrilineal prescription but whose marriage cycles are rarely completed, also express this ideal of closure. The phrase *pau wéig balé* ("to return the blood") refers to the "completion of an alliance cycle" (Barnes, 1974a, p. 248).

The Atoni, who combine a symmetric terminology with an asymmetric preference, describe the preferred marriage of a mother's brother's daughter with a father's sister's son as the joining of two halves of a coconut, "whose union symbolizes an entire system." Even among the Rotinese, who have no prescriptive alliance and rarely even attempt to renew specific affinal relationships, a similar ideal is formally stated. The marriage of a brother's child with a sister's child is compared to the reunion of the complementary halves of a house—the "male" half with the "female" half. The Rotinese, like the Huaulu, use "house" not only as a reference to the unit that contracts an alliance but also as a potent metaphor for alliance itself.

If relative age distinctions (that is, elder/younger) between siblings of the same sex form the categorical basis for differentiating groups of the same kind, then relationships between siblings of the opposite sex serve to categorize their alliances. Such categories are evident in most of the terminologies of the area. Yet another set of kinship categories embodies a basic native conception of the substantive bond believed to be created through marriage.

"Agnatic ties," as Barnes aptly describes them for Kédang, "are based on shared blood originally acquired from another group. Part of the implication of alliance is this transfer of blood, associated with the gift of life and that of physical and spiritual well-being." In Kédang, the relationship between the wife-giver and wife-taker can be specified in terms of a kinship relationship between a mother's brother and his sister's son. This relationship, as I have also argued at some length, is the

crux of alliance on Roti as well (see Fox, 1971b). The mother's brother, acting in his ritual role, is the source of life for his sister's children.

A significant characteristic of this relationship is that throughout the area it is linguistically marked by cognates of a single Austronesian term meaning "trunk," "base," "root," or "origin." In Kédang, for example, the mother's brother is *epu puén*; in Lamaholot, the equivalent expression is *belake puken* (Barnes, personal communication). ("Puén" and "puken" mean "trunk.") The Rotinese, on the other hand, suffix the cognate *hu* to the terms for the mother's brother and the mother's mother's brother to signify these men as the "origin" of their sister's children, who are described as their "plants." Among the Sikanese of Flores, the term *pu* is prefixed to the category for mother's brother to express the derivation of the sister's child from him (Arndt, 1933, p. 58). Similarly, the Sumbanese refer to their mother's brother as their "tree trunk" (*pola pu*: "trunk from which they grow") (Onvlee, 1973, p. 58). The Atoni do the same in referring to the mother's brother as *hau uf* ("tree trunk"). In Ema society, the initial wife-giving house, which is considered the "source of life," is called the *uma mane pun* ("base house of the wife-givers"). The Mambai, on the other hand, stress the ritual importance of a group's first two wife-giving groups; the wife-givers are the *nai fun* ("wife-givers of origin"), and they "preside at the life-cycle of their sister's children" (Traube, 1977, p. 75).

Such cognate terms ("epu," "pu," "hu," "fu," "uf") give a definite botanic cast to affiliation and alliance relationships (Fox, 1971b). But more important, the use of these and other cognate terms to denote significant social categories is evidence of close cultural relationships. Thus, despite the intricacies of their patterns of alliance, these peoples seem to share certain common ideas about the nature of life, of society, and of the human person. The recognition of this fact, however, raises a series of related questions, some of which are implicitly explored in several essays.

Present linguistic evidence tends to substantiate the contention that most of the peoples of the region speak languages that belong to one or two related subgroups of Austronesian. Thus, the two non-Austronesian peoples considered in this volume (the Makassae studied by Forman and the Bunaq by Friedberg) are of special interest. Linguistic data link these peoples with speakers of a "West-Papuan" subphylum of languages (Cowan,

1965; Stokhof, 1975). Since both groups have been resident on Timor for many centuries, they are politically and economically an integral part of the island's local social system. Furthermore, in their ideology, they have a great deal in common with their Austronesian-speaking neighbors.

Exchange is, in Forman's phrase, the "idiom" of Makassae life, and this idiom bears a close resemblance to that of other peoples in eastern Indonesia. The recently published Bunaq texts collected by the late Louis Berthe (1972) and various papers written by his wife, Claudine Berthe-Friedberg (1973, 1974b), show that these similarities extend to the realm of myth and ritual. Therefore, for the delineation of a culture area and for the comparison of societies in terms of their cultural categories, critical attention must be paid to these non-Austronesian groups.

The essays by Forman and Friedberg indicate the existence of similarities and differences. The Makassae, for example, see life as a mingling of two kinds of bloods and two kinds of sperms, both of which are male and female. These notions underlie their agricultural rituals. Similar ideas, based on a distinction between seeds of the earth and seeds planted by men, appear to be involved in Bunaq rituals. Though they utilize such categories as male and female to distinguish substantive relationships, these ideologies are in many ways distinctive. Traube's essay on Mambai rituals points to a number of fundamental differences; at the same time, it makes clear the complexity of the task of comparison. Ultimately, such comparisons may illuminate the use of analogous systems of symbolic classification in a wider region of Southeast Asia and Melanesia.

The essays in Part Two extend the consideration of symbolic classification beyond the specific examination of alliance and exchange. Conceptual patterns that are prominent in notions of alliance inform such diverse cultural realms as the composition of textile designs, the organization of space, the structure of the state or community, and the enactment of the ritual dramas of life and death. Van Wouden interpreted this pervasive dualism as evidence of a single encompassing system of classification, whose social aspects he considered primary. But the issue here is far more complex than van Wouden suggested. The subtle ubiquity of dualism as a mode of classification seems to imply an underlying order of some kind, but whether such an order derives from or is dependent on a particular type of society, as van

Wouden believed, is questionable. Whether such a system must be concordant in its various aspects to be an "all-embracing classification" is also a question of major importance.)

The essay that introduces Part Two is by the professor emeritus of anthropology at the Free University in Amsterdam, Dr. L. Onvlee, whose research on Sumbanese culture has spanned a period of over fifty years. Beginning with his Leiden doctorate on a Sumbanese language (1925) and continuing with a series of superlative papers based on his own fieldwork, which have now been collected in a single volume (1973), Onvlee has advanced a view of the culture securely derived from and clearly explicated in the categories of the Sumbanese themselves. This linguistic view holds the key, in my opinion, to an understanding of the pervasive dualism that van Wouden noted. Stated in its simplest terms, it is a linguistic convention in eastern Indonesia that social wisdom and indeed significant knowledge of a ritual sort must be expressed in dual terms—in a binary or dyadic form. When, for example, in his thesis van Wouden cited a Rotinese saying to the effect that a ruler's decisions are "like the rolling of thunder," he did not, in fact, quote the saying as a Rotinese would express it. Only by rendering it as a set of fixed dyadic phrases does it assume its proper form. Thus, a Rotinese would say that a ruler's decisions are "like the rolling of thunder and the flashing of lightning."

This phenomenon, known as semantic parallelism, is of considerable comparative importance to the study of oral traditions in various areas of the world (Jakobson, 1966; Fox, 1971c, 1974, 1977b). Virtually all contributors either allude to this use of parallelism or provide specific examples of it. Onvlee's paper offers one of the best of these examples. The long Sumbanese lament that he quotes at length illustrates an underlying parallel structure even in translation. Social categories, specific terms for spirits, material objects, names, places, even particular verbs and adjectives are subsumed within this tradition and form an integral part of it. "Formal speech," as Adams has admirably phrased it, "proceeds through a series of couplets using figurative images in pairs to convey a common meaning." Adams, whose essay follows Onvlee's, sees this parallelism as analogous to the principle of mirror imagery in Sumbanese textiles; Kana, in turn, demonstrates the use of a similar binary structure in the categorization of space on the island of Savu and in the design of the Savunese house.

In his paper on the symbolic classification of the Atoni of

Timor, Schulte Nordholt, Onvlee's successor at the Free University, also adopts an exegetical approach. With an intimate knowledge of van Wouden's thesis, which he first read shortly after his arrival on Timor in 1939, Schulte Nordholt is in a singular position to comment on van Wouden's work. Instead of considering a number of binary categories, he concentrates on the explication of the multiple uses of a single set of categories, male and female, as they apply to different aspects of a total system of classification. The importance of these categories is confirmed in subsequent papers that deal with other Timorese peoples. Francillon sees this sexual dualism as "a universal sociopolitical dichotomy" that elucidates political developments among the Tetun of west Timor. Friedberg examines Bunaq agricultural rituals in which the categories of male and female involve a distinction in categories of cooking—boiled and broiled.

In her essay on the Mambai, Traube makes the most articulate statement of this linguistic approach. Rather than orienting her discussion around institutional arrangements, she concentrates on the "language of opposition." There are, she contends, "related ways of talking about a range of institutional arrangements, all deriving from a single, pervasive multilevel code." One need compare only a few lines from the rituals of the Bunaq and the Mambai to appreciate the specificity of dyadic categories in these traditions of parallelism:

Bunaq

With a chicken, with a dog
We receive the ash and the soot
The flame and the smoke.

Mambai

The urn is not rotten
The vase is not decayed
The skin is not broken
The bone is not split.

An idea of the complexity of such traditions may be judged from the fact that, in the compilation of a dictionary of all dyadic categories used in Rotinese rituals, an analysis of an initial 5,000 lines of verse has already yielded over 1,000 specific pairs (Fox, 1972). My own tentative assessment of this Rotinese "code" suggests that, although categories must be expressed as sets of dyads, they may be linked in a definable associate pattern (Fox, 1975).

The final essays refocus attention on the comparative method. P. E. de Josselin de Jong, an eminent Indonesianist and the

successor to the chair of J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong, examines the concept of the "field of ethnological study" as it was initially envisioned by the Leiden school and as it has since been developed and elaborated. He considers the difficulties attendant on the use of this method and the importance of historical data to the theoretical construction of a "structural core." Drawing on de Josselin de Jong's remarks, my concluding essay examines eastern Indonesia as a specific field of study and the way in which the structural core that van Wouden defined is gradually being reinterpreted in terms of more relevant social categories.

The essays in this volume mark a development in the comparative study of societies of eastern Indonesia. Each essay by itself is a limited exploration of a set of common ideas. The unity of the volume derives from the initial adoption of a theoretical framework that originated with van Wouden. Emphasis is, therefore, placed on the consideration of a few prominent social categories. Yet, as both Valeri and Forman remind us, there is a definite material basis to these societies which category analysis should not preclude. The way is open for other forms of comparison. We must attend not just to the categories of life but, to paraphrase Forman, to the form and to the rate of flow of its material content.

Part One

Marriage,
Alliance, and
Exchange

Principles and Variations in the Structure 1 of Sumbanese Society

Rodney Needham

Men mag . . . niet uit het oog verliezen, dat naast de krachten van buiten ook in de cultuur zelf steeds tendenties werkzaam zijn, die veranderingen in het structuurbeeld veroorzaken.

—F. A. E. van Wouden

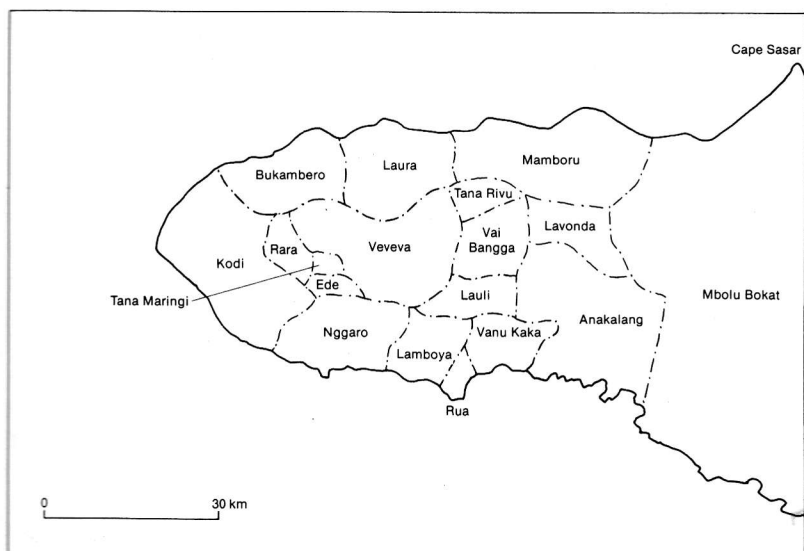
WITKAMP, IN 1910, WAS GREATLY STRUCK by the limited knowledge of the island that could be expected of the ordinary Sumbanese: it was astounding, he thought, that often the people had no names for peaks that were clearly in view and which they saw all their lives; they were ignorant also of the names of villages that were easily visible in the distance but which belonged to another district where they had never ventured to set foot. All this was found in a land that for the most part was entirely open and in which great distances could easily be covered on horseback (Witkamp, 1913, p. 9). Even after the Second World War, Onvlee found that it could still happen that leading figures in east Sumba knew nothing from their own observation about west Sumba (Onvlee, 1973, p. 131).

The restricted scope of social communication, during much of the period in which there have been Western reports from the island, is to be explained in part by the absence of a centralized government and by the perpetual conflict that was endemic to traditional Sumbanese society. Roos, a century ago, reported that on Sumba there was no law other than that of the strongest (1872, p. 9), and for long thereafter the fear of strangers was a justified condition of life. Wielenga, writing about the early

years of the twentieth century, referred to "the wild and disorderly conditions of Sumbanese society, the continual wars, small and great, between the different tribes" (in Meijering et al., 1927, p. 64); and by 1910 he had still not been able to visit the central part of east Sumba on account of the state of unrest there (Witkamp, 1913, p. 495). Although a Dutch punitive expedition had effected a military pacification of Leva in 1901 and of Mamboru, Laura, and Veveva in 1906, when Protestant missionary endeavors were extended to west Sumba in 1913-1920 that part of the island was still not entirely tranquil (see Wielenga, 1949, pp. 71, 30-33);¹ and it was not until 1933 that the military detachment at Waikabubak was replaced by civil police (Riekerk, 1936, p. 26). By 1928, the Dutch civil administration, in an attempt to impose a stable organization of government throughout the island, had delineated 19 independent districts (*landschappen*), each with its Radja (Onvlee, 1973, p. 123); but the boundaries were artificial and disputable, and within them there were in some instances more numerous territorial subdivisions, which had their own traditional claims to recognition as political entities.

This segmentary and unstable organization of indigenous Sumbanese society was accompanied by considerable linguistic variety, especially in the western part of the island. East Sumbanese is spoken fairly homogeneously westward to Mamboru and Anakalang (see map 1.1); Mamboru, though an eastern dialect, varies much from east Sumbanese and establishes the border between eastern and western linguistic forms; to the west and southwest there is greater variegation; while Kodi and Nggaro, in spite of singularities of pronunciation, bear resemblances to the eastern group (Onvlee, 1973, p. 165). In addition, there are many other kinds of cultural variation throughout the island: for example, in patterns in woven cloths, in house styles, in the incidence of *pasola* (an annual mounted combat held formerly in Mamboru and still in Kodi), and in such aspects of personal bearing as demeanor and gait.

If an observer were to concentrate his attention on the numerous points of difference, from one part of Sumba to another and often over quite short distances, he could legitimately form an impression of great variegation and even of incomparability. Yet, on the other hand, a traveler cannot but be struck by considerable resemblances: for example, the symbolic construction of the house, the significance of cardinal points, the etiquette of *sirih-pinang*, the procedures and occasions of ritual. To journey



Map 1.1. West Sumba

in the company of a Sumbanese to a distant domain where he has never been is more fundamentally instructive. A man from Kodi² who visits Mamboru may be put at a loss by the strangeness of language, genealogical references, and marriage regulations, but very quickly he comes to grasp certain radical relationships and symbolic usages; so that as a dispute is related or an institution is explained, he can understand the implications, forestall the narrator in stating what comes next, and predict the outcome or define the rationale. This particular example is very telling, since in the regulation of descent and marriage there are marked contrasts between Kodi and Mamboru: Kodi is characterized by bilineal descent and nonprescriptive affinal alliance, whereas Mamboru is characterized by agnatic descent and asymmetric prescriptive alliance. It would appear therefore that there are general principles of order in Sumbanese society, and that institutional differences are variations upon these.)

The purpose of the present essay is to isolate such principles, and to do so with special reference to the domains of west Sumba, where the variations are most numerous and are likely to prove theoretically to have the greatest consequence. In a limited span, this investigation can be no more than a structural sketch. Also, since the comparison relies in large part on my own notes relating to areas in which I have not worked, the ethno-

graphic evidences are themselves indeed sketchy. But I trust that the cumulative results may in the end make some contribution to the social anthropology of the Lesser Sunda Islands.

The most general contrast in the forms of Sumbanese society is that between the eastern and the western domains. Provisionally, this line may be traced along the linguistic boundary (Onvlee, 1973, p. 165). Roughly speaking, the institutional variations that we shall be dealing with are to be found westward of a north-south line running from the Laura-Mamboru border down to Lamboya and Rua.

After well over a century of ethnographic reports (well collated in Adams, 1969), the main features of east Sumbanese society are fairly clear, and as a basis for comparison we may list them as follows:

1. Agnation—Named corporate groups (*kabisu*) are defined by descent through men.
2. Locality—A *kabisu* is attached to a fortified village of sacred houses and ancestral sarcophagi.
3. Segmentation—*Kabisu* may have branches in different places, so that local descent groups are differentiated by a combination of the name of the *kabisu* and that of a locality; for example, Matoalang Praing Vunga, in the domain of Nàpu, and Matoalang Praing Bokul, in Kapunduk (Nootteboom, 1940, p. 26).
4. Class—Hereditary named ranks, varying in number according to the reporter, determine status; Roos (1872, p. 3) distinguishes four, de Roo van Alderwerelt (1890, p. 579) three, Nootteboom (1940, p. 29) two.
5. Matrilateral affinal alliance, that is, "asymmetric connubium" (van Wouden, 1935, 1968, p. 18)—This crucial feature was confirmed by Nootteboom (1940, pp. 19–21) and analysis of his ethnography established the cyclic character of the system (Needham, 1957). The marriage regulations are MBD, prescribed; FZD, prohibited; MZD, variable; ZHZ, forbidden (Kruyt, 1922, pp. 493–494).
6. Complementary prestations—"Masculine" goods, typically gold, weapons, and horses, are due to wife-givers; "feminine" goods, typically cloths, bracelets, pigs, go to wife-takers (Onvlee, 1973, p. 25).
7. Unequal and relative affinal status—Wife-givers are superior to wife-takers; an alliance group has one or the other status according to its part in the relationship.

Nooteboom has stressed that in spite of the close cultural relationship there are trenchant differences between east and west Sumba, and also among the various parts of west Sumba (1940, p. 8). The relationship, at the level of institutions, is readily found ethnographically in the similar emphases placed in west Sumba on agnatic descent, locality, segmentation, class, prestations, and affinal status. The great differences have to do with the variant emphases on matrilateral connections and, in particular, the regulation of cross-cousin marriage.

The variations may be indicated by the ethnographic summaries that follow. These relate to 16 domains of the preindependence administrative region Onderafdeeling West-Soemba, including 3 (Mamboru, Mbolu Bokat, Anakalang) that belong linguistically and in certain other respects to the cultural zone of east Sumba. The following survey thus spans the boundary between the comparatively homogeneous social organization of east Sumba and the variegation of social forms in west Sumba. The notes are based for the most part on inquiries made as occasion offered, either during journeys in the western part of the island or in conversation with visitors to Kodi. The data were not gathered systematically enough, since it was only in the course of time that I came to appreciate the structural issues and hence what questions required to be asked. Nevertheless, even such partial reports can be collated into a significant comparison, and at some points also support can be had from the ethnographic literature. The institutions focused on, where the evidence is to be had, are the relationship terminologies,³ the rules of marriage, and matrilateral connections. The domains will be taken up in alphabetical order; certain cultural details may be mentioned as gauge of the distinctiveness of the domains one from another and of their possible historical links.

Anakalang

A terminology is available in Fischer (1957, p. 12). There are strong reports of asymmetric (matrilateral) affinal alliance, supported by a ban on FZD marriage. MZD marriage is permitted, on condition that the respective mothers be married into different kabisu and that the son of the younger sister marry the daughter of the elder (Kruyt, 1922, p. 493). There are said to be no named or corporate groupings of matrilineal relatives.

Bukambero (Mbu Kamberu)

The first people in this domain are said to have come from Bima to Cape Sasar and thence via Oro (in Laura) to the north-

western coastal region of the island. They were in west Sumba before the people of Kodi, and their original language was said to be distinct and not understood by speakers of Kodi. The present population consists in part of immigrants from Laura and from Kodi; the language now spoken is said to be close to that of Laura. No terminological difference is made between cross-cousins, and either may be married; direct evidence is lacking, but, to judge by the equivalence $MZD = Z$, marriage with the MZD is probably not permitted. Descendants of immigrant Kodi women belong to named matriclans.

Ede

This group is originally from Rita, Kodi Bangedo; the domain had a population in 1954 of over 3,000, which was divided among 7 named patriclans (*kabihu*). The relationship terminology is identical with that of Kodi; no distinction is made between female cross-cousins. FZD marriage is permitted; there is accordingly no asymmetric prescriptive alliance, and direct exchange between patrilineal descent groups is practiced. Direct evidence on MZD marriage is lacking; ZHZ marriage is forbidden. Except in the mountains, there are matriclans (*vàla*) bearing the same names as in Kodi, but they are not exogamous.

Kodi

A major population of west Sumba (26,795 in 1954), the people of this domain have 5 territorial patriclans (*kabihu*) and approximately 85 dispersed exogamous matriclans (*vàla*). No terminological distinction is made between cross-cousins, and both MBD and FZD are marriageable. MZD marriage is absolutely forbidden, as is ZHZ marriage.

Lamboya

Numbering approximately 25,000, this population is linguistically distinct from that of Kodi, with whom it has always been at enmity and with whom it trades only exceptionally. There are 21 named exogamous patriclans. Asymmetric prescriptive alliance is reported; the MBD is commonly married; the FZD is terminologically distinguished and forbidden. Data about the possibility of MZD marriage are conflicting, but the best source (Kruyt, 1922) described it (with reference to a genealogy) as forbidden; he also specifically reports that children of two sisters may not marry (1922, p. 493).⁴ There are no named matrilineal groupings, though individuals (especially in the lowlands) are

claimed to belong to Kodi v $\grave{a}$ la. (The term "v $\grave{a}$ la" is said to be applied in general to an unorganized range of matrilineal relatives.)

Lauli

The terminology makes no distinction between MBD and FZD (see Fischer, 1957, p. 12, for Onvlee's terminology). MZD may be married if the mothers are married to men of different kabisu (see Kruyt, 1922, p. 493; Onvlee, 1973, p. 48). There are said to be members of Kodi matriclans in this domain, but a Kodi informant said that such groupings there are not exogamous. Onvlee provides evidence of a matrilineal reckoning of relationship and he reports the phrase *ole dadi* as referring to mother's sister's children (1973, pp. 48-49).

Laura

The people of this domain are considered enemies by the people of Kodi, though some trade and marriage used to take place between these domains. The Laura terminology equates MBD with FZD, but the former is preferred and the latter ought not to be married. It is recognized that marriages between local descent groups may be repeated in the same direction, but there is reported to be neither a systematic contraction of asymmetric affinal alliances nor any tradition of such. Nevertheless, the ZHZ may not be married. Marriage with the MZD (*ole bei*), of a different descent group, is permitted (see Kruyt, 1922, p. 493). There are representatives of some of the same matriclans as in Kodi, but these are only individuals who have matrilineal links with Kodi, and they are few. There is no Laura equivalent to the Kodi matriclan.

Mamboru

Asymmetric prescriptive alliance is practiced among the 28 named patrilineal alliance groups of this domain.⁵ MBD is prescribed, FZD and ZHZ are forbidden. MZD is marriageable on condition that the partners belong to different kabisu and that the son of the younger sister marry the daughter of the elder. Individual (matrilineal) relatives are distinguished as *ole dadi* but are not named as a collectivity.

Mbolu Bokat

The terminology differentiates MBD and FZD; the latter is equated with Z, and the implication is that marriage is

"impossible" (Fischer, 1957, p. 4). MZD marriage, if the partners are of different kabisu, is permitted to the son of the younger sister (Kruyt, 1922, p. 493). In Mamboru I recorded alliances in both directions with Mbolu Bokot, which indicate a common system.

Nggaro

The language is said to be almost the same as that of Kodi, and the domain used to be conjoined with Kodi Bangedo. There are numerous representatives everywhere of the same named matrilineal clans (*vàla*) as in Kodi, but it is explicitly reported that in Nggaro these are not exogamous; the MZD can be married.

Rara

This is a small domain, with a population in 1954 of 900–1,000. Its original inhabitants are said to have come from Kodi (Mbalagharo), and to have mingled with people from Manola and Tana Maringi, regions which subsequently became connected with Kodi by marriage and trade. The terminology equates MBD with FZD; the indications are that the latter may be married. There is no direct evidence concerning marriage with the MZD, but since this status is terminologically equated with Z and FBD the likelihood is that such marriage is prohibited. There are named matrilineal clans (*vàla*) everywhere except in the mountains, but they are not exogamous.

Rua

The relationship terminology differentiates MBD and FZD. Marriage with MZD is permitted; ZHZ marriage is forbidden (Riekerk, 1936). Riekerk (1936) describes the system as one of "inclusive cross-cousin marriage," by which he would seem to mean bilateral cross-cousin marriage (cf. "exclusive" cross-cousin marriage, that is, marriage with the MBD, as designated by van Wouden, 1935, p. 7; 1968, p. 7); but other data argue against this interpretation, and possibly it is "exclusive" that was meant.

Tana Maringi

Most kinds of evidence are lacking for this domain; but from Kodi it is reported that in Tana Maringi there are named matrilineal clans, similarly called *vàla*, at least some bearing the same names as in Kodi.

Tana Rivu (Tana Righu)

This domain is linguistically different from Mamboru, with which there is little intermarriage. The population is composed in part of an intermixture with immigrants from Veveva, and the relationship terminology is said to have been influenced thereby. MBD is differentiated from FZD; the latter status is equated with Z (*ghòto*) and is prohibited in marriage. MB = WF, with a concordant asymmetric prescription. Marriage regulations are in general identical with those of Mamboru. I recorded in the latter domain one alliance in which the kabisu Ve Kiri, in Tana Rivu, were wife-givers to Muri Tana, in Mamboru.

Vanu Kaka

The terminology differentiates MBD and FZD (see Fischer, 1957, p. 12, for Onvlee's terminology). MZD may be married if MZ has been married into a different descent group; ZHZ is forbidden (Kruyt, 1922, pp. 493-494).

Veveva

This domain was traditionally on terms of enmity with Kodi, and communication, such as trade, between the two regions takes place only exceptionally. According to the elder son of the Radja of Veveva, there used originally to be only three patrilineages (kabisu), practicing asymmetric prescriptive alliance. In the course of time these segmented into more numerous alliance groups, so that marriage within the founding kabisu became possible, as also was marriage among lineages (*uma*) of the same village; but the rules of marriage, in particular the absolute ban on the FZD, remained constant. In modern times the system has become slack, especially as the more educated youths demand the freedom to marry the girls they want, regardless of kabisu or relationship. The asymmetric character of the traditional system is supported by what is said of Veveva who migrate to more westerly domains. Those who settle in Ede and who continue to fear the spirits (*marapu*) still do not marry the patrilineal cross-cousin; they continue to marry asymmetrically among themselves or with lineages back in Veveva or even with Ede patrilineages. Others in Ede marry against the traditional rules, after a placatory sacrifice to the spirits, and then the standing affinal alliances of their lineages are broken. In Rara, where Veveva immigrants are in the majority they continue to practice asymmetric prescriptive alliance, and it is

reported that the Rara people in such an area may even accommodate themselves to such rules. Where the Veveva are in the minority, it is their marriage rules that may give way. In Kodi, the second generation of Veveva settlers may marry the FZD, thus breaking affinal links with their homeland. Both in Veveva itself and among emigrants who marry traditionally, MZD marriage is permitted as long as the partners belong to different patrilineages (see Onvlee's data as reported in Fischer, 1957, p. 3). ZHZ marriage is prohibited and does not take place even among migrants to other domains. There are reported to be no matrilineages. Kruyt (1922), finally, states that in Veveva (Wajewa) he was told that a sister's daughter might marry the son of the brother, that is, that FZD marriage was permitted. This is said, however, to occur only in exceptional circumstances, for instance, when the brother has only sons and the sister only daughters, and after a purificatory ritual (Kruyt, 1922, p. 493).

To these particulars, varying greatly as they do in reliability, there should be added some comments on the western domains that are shown on map 1.1 but are not treated in the summary. There are indications that Lavonda has marriage customs like those of Mamboru and Mbolu Bokat (that is, asymmetric prescriptive alliance), but there is no certain evidence at hand. In Mamboru, however, I did record alliances, in both directions, between Lavonda and Mamboru; the existence of such alliances indicates a common system. As for Vai Bangga, there are other indications that this domain also may share institutions with Mamboru. The northern part of Vai Bangga used to be politically subject to Mamboru, and as recently as the late 1940s, I was told, the elders of three Vai Bangga villages (Ketòka, Tana Rara, and Mbànu Ledu) made a formal visit to Manua Kalada, the capital village of Mamboru, in order to effect a formal separation from their protectors (*ina ama*) on their incorporation into Lauuli. But there are no affinal alliances between Vai Bangga and Mamboru in the genealogies and lists of alliances that I compiled in Manua Kalada, and the precise community of institutions remains unsure.

Let us now take up individually the features signaled in the table below before we attempt to establish what they may convey when analyzed in conjunction.

The distribution of the terminological distinction $MBD \neq FZD$ is quite notable. Fischer, discussing the terminologies sup-

plied by Onvlee, has already remarked that among the domains of west Sumba (he names Kodi, Lamboya, Lauuli, Veveva, Laura, and Vanu Kaka) "the difference in the kinship terminology is striking" (1957, p. 7), particularly in regard to cross-cousins. "The cross-cousin terminology in West-Sumba, in striking contrast to that of the eastern principalities, does not point to a marked preference either for a marriage between FaSiSo and MoBrDa or for one between FaSiDa and MoBrSo" (1957, p. 8). He links this contrast with a difference in marriage regulations: "The western terminology . . . is understandable as a consequence of marriage by exchange between two *kabisu*" (1957, p. 8). By this view, the eastern distinction $MBD \neq FZD$ goes with matrilateral cross-cousin marriage, whereas the western equivalence $MBD = FZD$ goes with the possibility of marrying the bilateral cross-cousin.

In general, the correspondence between terminologies and institutions is not so close or so constant as to permit this kind of correlation to be inferred (see Needham, 1974a, pp. 50–61), but in this case there are grounds to consider it seriously. An asymmetric terminology (one characterized by at least $MBD \neq FZD$) is incompatible with symmetric alliance. But on the other hand the symmetric designation of cross-cousins does not entail symmetric alliances: not only must the complete terminology be taken into account, but even a consistently symmetric prescriptive terminology, such as the Garo have (Needham, 1966, pp. 143–148), can be used to govern an asymmetric system of alliances. In fact, the terminologies of west Sumba are not symmetric, and all known terminologies in this region are constituted by three lines. Moreover, the symmetric designation of cross-cousins, combined with the possibility of marrying either, does not entail bilateral cross-cousin marriage. It cannot therefore be accepted that the terminologies of west Sumba featuring $MBD = FZD$ are to be understood as consequential to marriage by (direct) exchange between two *kabisu*.

There is a strong positive correlation, all the same, between the feature $MBD \neq FZD$ and the permissibility of marriage with the FZD. Where the distinction is made, the marriage tends to be prohibited; where the distinction is not made, the marriage tends to be permitted.

Marriage with the MZD has received repeated attention in the literature. Kruyt connects it with the fact that Sumbanese society is patrilineal: "From this it should follow that the children of two sisters, when each of them [these women] is married to a

man from a different *kabisu*, ought to be able to marry" (1922, p. 493). As western domains that permit MZD marriage in such circumstances he lists Laura, Veveva, Vanu Kaka, and Lauli; and, as domains in which the man must in addition be the son of the younger sister, Mbolu Bokkat, Nàpu, and Anakalang. Fischer writes that the marriage of children of two sisters is normally impossible, and he generalizes that "marriages of sisters' children are mainly impossible in West Sumba" (1957, p. 7). Onvlee states that "in a large area a marriage between sisters' children is forbidden (strongly in Kodi), at least not desirable (Eastern principalities)" (Onvlee as quoted in Fischer, 1957, p. 3; see also Onvlee, 1973, p. 46).

Table 1.1 shows, however, that in the area of west Sumba covered here MZD marriage is by no means generally impossible: in 10 of the 14 domains for which there is evidence, it is permitted. Among those that prohibit such a marriage, Lamboya is an uncertain case, and a prohibition is listed on the authority of Kruyt's particular statement that in Lamboya itself he was assured that the children of two sisters might not marry (1922, p. 493). For Rara, the negative entry is based partly on an inference from the equivalence $MZD = Z$. Only in Kodi, with its exogamous matriclans (*vàla*), is the prohibition quite certain and self-evident. In west Sumba, therefore, the situation does not agree with van Wouden's explanation of the prohibition on marriage between sisters' children: "It is certainly a consequence of the system of unilateral marriage groups. Under such a system, women from any given clan always marry into one and same other clan, and their children are thus ipso facto excluded as potential spouses" (1935, p. 93; 1968, p. 89).

This explanation derives from the premise, subscribed to by a number of commentators, that a system of asymmetric prescriptive alliance typically (or originally) is constituted by a single cycle. As far as Sumba is concerned, Nooteboom demonstrated in 1940 that this was not factually so, since any alliance group was related as wife-takers to "one or more" similar groups and as wife-givers also to one or more other groups (1940, pp. 23–24). Moreover, the alliances contracted by a part of any given *kabisu* in one area might be quite different from those of another part of the same *kabisu* in another area, a fact that disposed decisively of the notion of a single cycle (see Needham, 1957, p. 178; 1961a, pp. 103–104). Sisters, or more generally women of the same alliance group, are therefore not necessarily married into the same group. It is only in a formal sense that females of a

given line, in a three-line prescriptive classification (see Needham, 1973a, pp. 174–175), are married into one and the same line. There is indeed this much ground for placing MZD in the same category as Z, but in fact, as among the domains of west Sumba, whether or not this terminological equivalence is made is a contingent matter; and if it is made there is still only an empirical answer to the question whether or not the children of classificatory sisters may marry.

The next feature, marriage with the ZHZ, presents no variation at all. Kruyt states expressly that “what is universally [*alge-meen*] forbidden is marriage with the sisters of one’s sister’s husband” (1922, p. 494); and Nooteboom stresses this prohibition as evidence of the unilaterality of relations between kabisu (1940, pp. 27–28). It is to be regretted only that evidence on this feature is lacking for some of the more westerly domains. In view of the supposed historical connections with Laura on the east and with Kodi on the south, it is very likely that this marriage is forbidden in Bukambero, but I have no direct statement to that effect in my notes. Since Rara shares an identical terminology with Ede, and its people are said to have originated with Ede from Kodi, I should think it virtually certain that ZHZ marriage is forbidden in Rara also, but once again I may not assume as much when a specific report is lacking. Much the same considerations apply to Tana Maringi, and also to Nggaro. The deficiencies in the ethnographic record cannot be helped, for the present, but as far as the facts extend, it can be confirmed for the area under survey that marriage with the ZHZ is generally forbidden.

Finally, the fourth feature (named matrilineal groupings) shows an interesting variation. In the eastern part of the area under examination such groupings are for the most part either wholly absent or unreported; in five of the domains furthest to the west they are represented in a fairly solid block. Lauuli is a slightly challenging case. This domain is said to have representatives of the *vàla* typical of Kodi, and at least some of them with the same names; for example, one Kodi informant had “brothers” (*dughu*) in Lauuli in the matriclan Rangga Ghànu, which in Kodi was quite populous and widespread. It may be that such matrilineal connections between Kodi and Lauuli are to be traced historically via Nggaro, and that the representation of *vàla* in Lauuli does not characterize the social system proper to this domain. Only in Kodi, at any rate, are the *vàla* strictly exogamous.

In order to assess the systematic significance of the features under comparison, a revealing procedure is to arrange the domains according to degrees of formal resemblance. In table 1.1 they are listed with reference, in the first place, to those features which contrast most strikingly and which are likely in addition to be of greatest sociological importance; namely, the terminological distinction $MBD \neq FZD$ and the recognition of matrilineal connections. This ordering brings out interesting continuities and discontinuities, as well as a marked degree of variegation.

If we read down the columns, we find a set of roughly concomitant variations: the distinction between cross-cousins fades out; marriage with the FZD becomes permissible; marriage with the MZD is fairly constant but tends, if less clearly, toward the absolute prohibition found in Kodi; and named matrilineal groupings make their appearance. This formal ordering has also a topographical aspect: the domains fall into irregular north-south bands of preponderantly similar systems, and the cline of concomitant variation among the features runs from east to west. In other words, similar sets of features tend to pertain to contiguous or close domains, and the greatest structural contrast is that of the extreme eastern domains with the extreme western domain. But an equally apparent aspect of the table is that, along the east-west dimension, there is no neat succession of discrete systems: instead, there are the opposed systems of Mamboru and Kodi, with between them a range of systems in which the definitive features vary with considerable independence.

Overall, however, and with the caution imposed by the deficiencies of the ethnographic record, we may conceive that there is a scale of transformations from asymmetric prescriptive alliance, exemplified by Mamboru in the east, to a bilineal nonprescriptive system, exemplified by Kodi in the west.

In table 1.1, the line of maximum discontinuity seems to fall between Lamboya and Bukambero. Terminologically, and perhaps in other respects as well, Laura, Veveva, and possibly Lauhi can be seen as forming a transitional zone between prescriptive and nonprescriptive systems. Similarly, it looks as though there is a contrast between the individual recognition of matrilineal relatives, as practiced in the east, and the naming of matrilineal descent groups, as found to the west. In this regard also, the line of maximum discontinuity falls in table 1.1 between Lamboya and Bukambero. The zone of subsequent transition is formed by

Table 1.1. Social features in domains of west Sumba

Domain	MBD $\neq$ FZD	Marriage			Vàla
		FZD	MZD	ZHZ	
Mamboru	+	-	+	-	-
Tana Rivu	+	-	+	-	-
Anakalang	+	(-)	+	(-)	-
Mbolu Bokat	+	(-)	+	(-)	
Rua	+	(-)	+	-	
Vanu Kaka	+		+	-	
Lamboya	+	-	(-)	-	(+)
Veveva	-	-	+	-	-
Laura	-	(-)	+	-	-
Lauli	-		+		(+)
Bukambero	-	+	(-)		(+)
Tana Maringi					+
Nggaro	(-)		+		+
Rara	-	(+)	(-)		+
Ede	(-)	+		-	+
Kodi	-	+	-	-	+

Note: A plus sign signifies the presence of the feature, and a minus sign its absence or prohibition; a sign within parentheses indicates an uncertain or a qualified entry. Blank entries indicate lack of information. MBD is not included under "Marriage," since there is no part of Sumba from which it is reported that a woman in this status may not be married; a number of domains prescribe marriage with a woman of this category, and the others either prefer or permit MBD marriage.

Bukambero, Rara, Tana Maringi, Ede, and Nggaro. The extreme emphasis on matrilineal connections is found in the exogamous matriclans (vàla) of Kodi.

Against these institutional vectors, and standing out from the variety of systems in west Sumba, there is one feature that is striking in its constancy: namely, the prohibition on marriage with the ZHZ. Taken together with Kruyt's report (1922, p. 494), the indications are that this is a universal feature of Sumbanese society, and hence that it may reflect a principle of order underlying the variations. In domains in which asymmetric prescriptive alliance is practiced, or is perhaps likely to have been practiced in the past, the ZHZ prohibition is self-evidently

concordant with the matrilineal prescription. For a deeper analysis, at the level of common principles, let us look instead at the contrasted system found in Kodi. Here the rules of exogamy forbid marriage within one's patrilineal kabihu and within one's matrilineal vāla; there is no prescribed type of marriage, either categorically or by some other mode of regulation. Women may commonly happen to be married out reciprocally between local patrilineages, but this does not constitute direct exchange in a quasi-prescriptive sense. Typically, marriages are arranged between "houses" (*uma*), or minor segments of the local patrilineages, and a reciprocal interchange of women between these is forbidden.

Both cross-cousins, who in Kodi are terminologically equated as *anguleba*, may be married. There is no generally stated preference for one rather than the other, though I did find it significantly easier to find instances of MBD marriage than of marriage with the FZD. I was definitely assured that asymmetric prescriptive alliance had never been Kodi custom, and indeed one highly knowledgeable priest (*rato marapu*) said he had never heard of it; but I recorded nevertheless a number of authoritative opinions that formerly the MBD was clearly preferred and used to be more frequently married. There is evidence in support of this preference in the custom of singing a dirge (*hoyo*) over the body of a deceased relative. There is such a dirge, in a conventional form of words (*lavitu*) expressing the attributes proper to the relationship, for the mother's brother's daughter (*ana loka*); her house is described as the rightful source (*mata veyo*) of a successor to her mother, and the plaint alludes metaphorically to the expectations that have been untimely cut off by the girl's death. There is however no such dirge for the *anguleba* (cross-cousin) who is the father's sister's daughter (*ana kiyo*).

A bilateral cross-cousin, that is, a woman who is simultaneously MBD and FZD, cannot be married. This prohibition is a consequence of that which forbids marriage with the ZHZ, that is, sister-exchange marriage. There can be no direct exchange of women between alliance groups of any order: "The exchange of sisters [*pandelu lavinye*] does not count as marriage; it is the same as having sexual intercourse with your sister." The sister's husband's sister is in fact known by the same term as the sister, *lavinye* (also FBD, MZD), and the idea of marriage with the ZHZ is castigated in much the same terms as are resorted to in explaining the prohibition on marrying a sister or a classificatory parallel cousin.

An affinal relationship is defined symbolically by the prestations that each party owes the other. Some of these obligations are services of a common kind that are owed mutually, for example, building a house, dragging a stone block for a funerary monument, assisting in a war. But by means of other prestations, the parties to an affinal alliance are distinguished as wife-givers and wife-takers; each party gives a distinct class of goods to the other, and the directions in which these goods pass may not be reversed. The directions are called *lara* ("paths"). The *lara haranga hamoli* ("path of beasts and ear pendants") goes to the wife-givers; typically it includes horses, water buffalo, gold ear ornaments, weapons, and a puppy (an alternative name for this path is *bahi bangga*, "iron and dog"). The *lara kamba vavi* ("path of cloths and pigs") leads to the wife-takers; typically the goods include cloths, pigs, bracelets, and baskets. The wife-giver (*ghera*) is much superior to the wife-taker (*laghia*) and must be honored or esteemed in a variety of conventional ways. Affinal status is relative to the particular alliance: those who are wife-givers and thereby superior to another lineage are wife-takers from a third lineage, to which they in their turn are inferior. What is absolute is the jural and symbolic disparity between wife-giver and wife-taker. This distinction, expressed and given effect by the interchange of complementary prestations, is fundamental to Kodi society; it cannot be abrogated and must not be confused.

The consequences of ZHZ marriage for this regulation of affinal alliance can be indicated by the following example of an infraction, which is diagrammed in figure 1.1.⁶ Gheda, of the patrilineage Kaha Malagho and matriclan Tana Maringi, married about 1906 a woman called Rangga from the local patrilineage Kaha Deta; she was his first wife. Some time around 1930, her brother Bavonda Hòna (matriclan Gyanggaro) married Tora Kalanda, full sister of Gheda Rangga.⁷ Bavonda Hòna was younger than Gheda Rangga by only five or six years, but Tora Kalanda was his third wife. A chief and repeated objection to these marriages by the exchange of sisters, no matter how many years had elapsed between the marriages, was that the bridewealth (*vàli*) and the counterpayment (*lipyoko*) canceled each other, so that after the second marriage (which accomplished a direct return) there had, in effect, been no exchange of wealth; "they would have done better just to exchange their sisters," that is, make no prestations of either kind in either direction. Even the very poor, who cannot marry at all because they have not the means, find this reprehensible.

KAHA DETA

KAHA MALAGHO

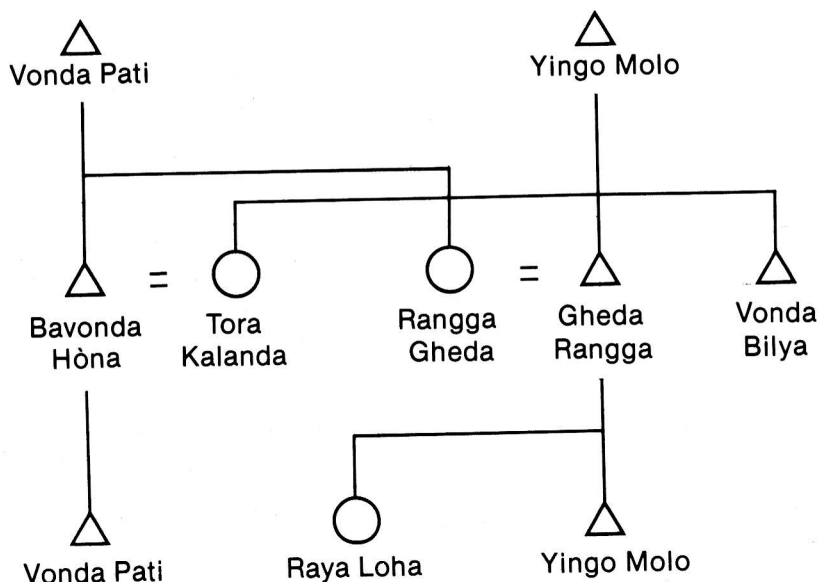


Figure 1.1. An example of sister-exchange in Kodi

It should be noted that there was no objection on the grounds that women had been directly exchanged between these two local patrilineages: in Kaha Malagho there were four marriages, in addition to that of Gheda Rangga, with women from Kaha Deta; and in Kaha Deta (which is a much smaller group) there was one other marriage, in addition to that of Bavonda Hòna, with a woman from Kaha Malagho, and there had been three others in preceding generations. Nor, as I was told, was it anything like a sin, for the spirits (*marapu*) did not care. It is true that Tora Kalanda proved barren, but this was not because of the displeasure of spirits. The fault was social, and the consequences were social. There was a slight mitigation in that Bavonda Hòna had married two other wives (one from Vei Katàri, one from Vei Nggyali) in a proper manner, whereas to exchange sisters as first wives would have been ultimately wrong.⁸ Nevertheless, the intermarriage was considered shameful, and the situation it produced was a contradictory tangle of frustrated rights and impeded duties.

Before Bavonda Hòna's marriage to Tora Kalanda, which created a direct exchange of sisters, he called Gheda Rangga

laghia (ZH) and Tora Kalanda lavinye (Z); Gheda Rangga called him ghera (WB). After the marriage, Bavonda Hòna had to call Gheda Rangga, as Tora Kalanda's brother, ghera in addition to laghia; and the same dual designation held in return for Gheda Rangga with regard to Bavonda Hòna. In the event, despite these contradictions, it was usually Bavonda Hòna who called Gheda Rangga laghia, because it was Gheda who had married first, but the jural muddle nevertheless remained. Moreover, although Bavonda Hòna called Gheda Rangga laghia, he still had to call Gheda Rangga's younger brother, Vonda Bilya, ghera because he had taken the latter's sister, Tora Kalanda, and was in no other affinal relationship to him. The distinctions between the affines were no longer clear, and the jural designations ghera and laghia, although employed as circumstances required, both became effectively "lost" (*mbunga laghia mono ghera*). Because each party was in the lara haranga hamoli relationship to the other and at the same time in the lara kamba vavi also, the affinal connection was destroyed: "They could not ask, could not receive, could not give."

Vonda Pati and Raya Loha were, I was told, still very ashamed of their parents' marriages, but there was nothing to be done. One reason for shame is that if people marry by sister-exchange it is chargeable against them that they did so because they had no wealth, since, however much may have been handed over by each side, the end result is that nothing has been properly distributed. But the basic reproach is simply that pandelu lavinye, to exchange sisters, is wholly wrong and intrinsically shameful.

There are yet further confusions that must result from marriage with the ZHZ, but this account of one instance and its attendant difficulties will suffice to make the point. The relationship between wife-givers and wife-takers must be exclusively asymmetric. The prestations made by either party must be distinctive and also complementary; they must be in "balance" (*timbya*), and they must "fit together" like the upper and lower parts (*tanga*) of a lidded basket (*kapepe*) or a tobacco box (*mbeka*). Here we arrive at a set of notions that are essential to an understanding of Sumbanese society.

As far as Sumbanese institutions are concerned, we may provisionally formulate certain results of the present comparative exercise. It has for some time been possible to state with fair certainty that asymmetric prescriptive alliance is characteristic of

the eastern half of Sumba. The foregoing survey has now pushed the boundary of this form of organization considerably further westward. To either side of the vertical axis cutting through Laura and Veveva, there is what appears to be a zone of transformation, marked initially by relationship terminologies in which a distinctive feature (though not a systematically diagnostic sign) is the equivalence $MBD = FZD$. This zone is circumscribed not only by the institutions themselves but also by discontinuities to the east and the west. On the eastern side it is significant that Mamboru maintains, as far as my own inquiries revealed, no affinal alliances with the domains in question. I recorded a number of recognized alliances with domains outside Mamboru, but these are regions where asymmetric prescriptive alliance is similarly practiced: namely, Anakalang, (Lavonda), Mbolu Bokat, Nàpu, Tana Rivu, and Umbu Ratu Nggai.⁹ On the western side of the zone there are comparable indications from the enmity that traditionally obtained between Kodi and Lamboya, Laura, and Veveva. There was practically no intermarriage or hence trade between Kodi and these three domains; in other words, there was no effective communication between domains that were not merely distant but possessed different (or perhaps even incompatible) institutions.

The general impression created is that the asymmetric prescription typical of Sumba gradually fades out in the western part of the island and that concomitantly there is an increasing emphasis on matrification, culminating in the exogamous matrilineal clans of Kodi. Yet under the variety and apparent transformation of systems there is a set of principles common to all forms of Sumbanese society:

1. Identity
 - a. agnatic descent
 - b. matrification
 - c. locality
2. Duality
3. Inequality
 - a. class
 - b. affinal status
 - c. political dominance
4. Asymmetry
5. Complementarity
6. Nontransitivity

I should stress the difference between this list and the list of features presented earlier. The latter has to do with institutions,

but what I now postulate are principles, that is, abstractions that are taken to be fundamental to the structure of Sumbanese society and hence common to the variety of its institutions. As for the individual principles, there are some minor explications to be offered:

1. The principle of identity simply subsumes, as its components or aspects, the more prominent features (agnatic descent, matrilineation, and locality) by which a group is characterized and distinguished from other groups.
2. The principle of duality alludes to an aspect of Sumbanese society, not specifically treated here, that has for some years been recognizable as typical of social relations in general. It is a constant feature of Sumbanese ideology and figures of speech that objects and attributes of all kinds are traditionally named in pairs, and that the significance of a particular is established by linking it in a contrastive association with an opposite particular.¹⁰ (The best demonstration of this aspect is to be found in Onvlee's splendid paper on the Mangili Dam (1949), and there are numerous more incidental examples of the principle in his collected papers (1973).)
3. The principle of inequality represents the fact that in any relationship whatever the two parties are reckoned as of unequal standing; one is always superior in some regard, the other inferior. The most obvious instances are class, affinal status, and political dominance; but the principle applies universally and to social categories of all kinds.
4. The principle of asymmetry self-evidently characterizes the prescriptive systems, and an important finding of the present comparison is that it is equally characteristic of the nonprescriptive systems also.
5. The principle of complementarity accords with that of duality; the paired statuses making up any social relation, especially affinal alliance, are distinguished and also conjoined by mutual ministrations (to use A. M. Hocart's phrase) that are contrasted but mutually essential to that relationship.
6. The principle of nontransitivity has not been expressly demonstrated here, but it is important and it is characteristic, I think, of Sumbanese society both in the area under study and in the eastern part of the island. It also accords with, though it does not follow from, the principle of duality. Formally speaking, it means that $A:B :: B:C$ does not entail $A:C$. Thus, for example, the laghia of one's laghia are not necessarily one's own laghia; conversely, the ghera of one's ghera are not

necessarily one's own ghera. Where MZD marriage is permitted, these cumulative relationships may in fact obtain (see figure 1.2), but this is a contingent state of affairs in which each of the constituent relationships remains nontransitive.

I do not contend that these are the only principles implicit in the structure of Sumbanese society, and I cannot claim that they are in fact universal throughout the island. Much depends on the accuracy of the ethnographic record, and for the area considered here, this record is by no means equally reliable or comprehensive for all the domains in question. I am confident enough about Kodi and Mamboru, but the data for the other domains are not nearly so reliable. Ultimately, of course, what is needed is a detailed ethnographic investigation of each of these domains. At the same time, however, the postulation of a set of common principles tends to dissolve the conventional lines of discrimination on which we have so far relied. Even the longest-established domains are rather arbitrary political and ritual fields of organization (see Onvlee, 1973); and although they may be characterized by certain social forms they are not coextensive with the distribution of specific social systems. Moreover, the systems themselves are in part constructions put on the eth-

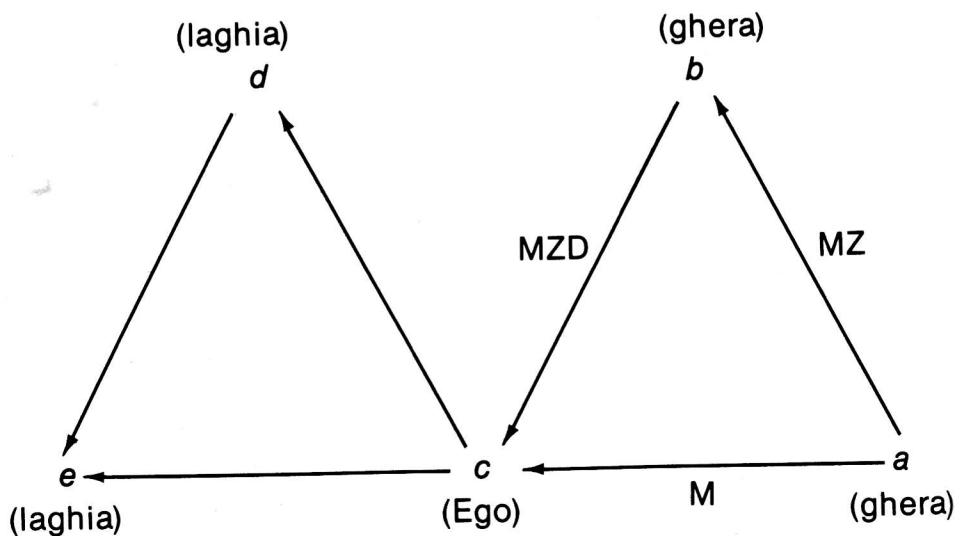


Figure 1.2. MZD marriage and affinal alliance. The letters a-e indicate alliance groups; arrows show the directions in which the women are transmitted; M, MZ, and MZD state the relationships of the women to Ego.

nographic data, and they should not be imagined as entities with sharp and mutually exclusive boundaries. Instead, I think, we should view these systems as constituted by the interplay of principles with the local and contingent elaboration of variable institutions (see Needham, 1974a, pp. 53–54). The degree to which some of the features in this comparative survey can vary independently must tend to direct our attention preponderantly toward the isolation of constant principles rather than toward the establishment of discrete systems.

Nevertheless, the variables do seem to form a fairly consistent series along what can be conceived as a cline of transformation, and the problem is to account for this regular variation.

Given the principles that have been postulated, it is an acceptable premise that there have been developmental connections among the variant forms of Sumbanese society. However we collocate the features into discriminable systems, it looks as if they are the results of a process of systematic change.¹¹ The issue can be clearly posed by considering the relation between the polar types: asymmetric prescriptive alliance to the east, non-prescriptive bilinear descent to the west. Formally speaking, possible transformations are the following:

1. asymmetric prescription $\rightarrow$ bilinear descent
2. bilinear descent $\rightarrow$ asymmetric prescription
3. system X $\rightarrow$ (asymmetric prescription/bilinear descent)
4. factors Y $\rightarrow$ (asymmetric prescription/bilinear descent) $\rightarrow$ system Z

Transformation 3 posits a system that develops into two systems different from it and from each other, that is, there is an increase in complexity. Transformation 4 posits not a system but a set of factors (including possibly a variety of systems) that become narrowed down to the two systems given, that is, there is a decrease in complexity which may be extrapolated toward a hypothetically simpler system Z.

If we look at Sumba in isolation it is exceedingly hard to conjecture, with any empirical justification, which of these courses of development is the most likely to have led to the present state of affairs. It could be, for instance, that the asymmetric prescriptive mode of organization has taken over from an earlier system of bilinear descent, of which Kodi is the only surviving case; or, equally conceivably, it could be that asymmetric prescriptive alliance was the earlier form of society on the island and that in

the west it has been superseded by the development (perhaps spreading toward the east) of double descent. There are no historical materials bearing on these alternatives; and there are no present-day social changes, as far as I know, that can provide a clue to the course of change in the past. I am not saying that it is in principle unfeasible to work out a reasoned speculation, on the basis of Sumbanese ethnography, that would argue for one kind of transformation rather than another. But that would be a long and intricate task, and it is not yet essential since there are other means at hand. These are provided by the comparative social anthropology of the Lesser Sunda Islands. A proper treatment of this larger corpus of evidence would be a yet more extensive undertaking, but even without going so far we can still pick up some leads by comparing Sumbanese society, in even the most summary fashion, with the wider variety of social forms now known to exist on certain neighboring islands.¹²

The Atoni of west Timor have a two-line prescriptive terminology and they practice direct exchange (symmetric alliance) with a matrilateral preference (Schulte Nordholt, 1971). Further to the east on Timor, the recent researches of Clamagirand (1975a) have established that the Ema have an asymmetric prescriptive terminology and that they practice asymmetric alliance; still further eastward Traube (1977) has studied an asymmetric prescriptive system among the Mambai. To the northwest, on the other side of the Ombai Strait, Barnes (1974a) has found on the island of Lembata (also known as Lomblen) an asymmetric prescriptive terminology and a concordant mode of contracting affinal alliances. Westward, on Flores, there is found in Endeh the interesting combination of a two-line prescriptive terminology with an asymmetric contraction of alliances (Needham, 1968a); and further still to the west on this island (and to the north of Sumba) the Manggarai exhibit a practically identical system combining a symmetric (two-line) terminology and strictly asymmetric affinal alliances (Needham, 1966, pp. 148–155). Thus in this region of eastern Indonesia we have a scatter of distinct societies that exhibit such continuities of structure as to seem to constitute a series of transformations.

It is true that the greater variety of systems increases the number of formally possible transformations to be taken into account, just as the greater number increases the length of the hypothetical series. But it may still be taken as an encouragement that there is such a distribution of prescriptive systems; and also that these are so readily comparable in the principles

to which they can be reduced. At the level of symbolic expression, moreover, there are striking similarities in the vehicles and meanings of prestations, and these too add to the promise that it may be possible to establish developmental connections (see Needham, 1970, p. 257).

Considered formally, these systems can easily be ordered in a series according to a criterion of simplicity. The simplest is that of the Atoni, with a symmetric classification and symmetric alliance; then come the systems of Endeh and Manggarai, with multilateral indications in their symmetric terminologies that govern asymmetric alliances; then the standard systems of asymmetric prescriptive alliance exemplified by the Ema, the Mambai, and the majority of the domains of Sumba; after these, the ambiguous systems in what has been called here the zone of transition in west Sumba; and finally the absence of prescription in the bilinear system of Kodi. I have suggested how the Manggarai system could easily have emerged from a consistently symmetric system and how also it could be further transformed into a comparably consistent asymmetric system (see Needham, 1967, pp. 44–45). I have also considered in greater critical detail some of the premises on which rests the postulation of such a series of transformations; in particular, I have stressed how tenuous may be the line between symmetric and asymmetric systems, and how readily the one type may be converted into the other (Needham, 1968a, p. 333).

The outstanding question posed by the different forms of society in west Sumba, as also by the range of systems elsewhere in eastern Indonesia, concerns the factors that have produced the postulated changes. One possibility that I have considered is that successive structural variations such as those listed above are the results of a tendency to latitude (Needham, 1967, pp. 44–46); but the objection could well be sustained that the latitude, rather than being an effective and determinable social factor, is nothing more than a dynamic interpretation placed on the scale of complexity itself. Another line of explanation is that the different forms of organization in question produce different degrees of solidarity, so that the series of transformations might be seen as a vector of increasing efficacy; but I cannot detect in the ethnographic record any empirical evidence to support this view. Indeed, van Wouden (1956) has resorted to a functional explanation of the kind precisely in order to contend that two of the systems in the present series, though very different in their institutions, are equivalent in the social solidarity that they

serve. In the case of asymmetric prescriptive alliance, he proposes, "the functions of the matrilineal line are coordinated and regulated by the unilateral circulating system of marriage links"; while in Kodi "such a systematisation or regularisation is not necessary, for everything is in the hands of the *wala* [vàla], whereby a closed marriage system is hence superfluous" (van Wouden, 1956, p. 243). My own inclination is to suspect that this kind of proposition about relative solidarity is not empirically justifiable either; but at least it calls into question, and from a functionalist standpoint, the notion that the scale of complexity in question is positively correlated with differential solidarity.

Another line to take is to consider the range of eastern Indonesian systems at issue as various manifestations of the ways in which a certain civilization has "taken advantage, integrally or in limited sectors, of elementary principles of social classification" (Needham, 1968a, p. 333). But this recourse, though apt to the analysis of individual societies, does not cope with the historical relatedness of symmetric, asymmetric, and other systems in the region. The patent inference is that structural changes have been taking place, and, since it is improbable that initially disparate systems should have converged toward a common type, that the societies of the Lesser Sunda Islands formerly resembled one another more closely than they do now. This is a modest enough construction to put on the ethnographic facts, but it poses unavoidably the historical and evolutionary task of conjecturing the former state of affairs. We cannot assume that what are now distinguished as separate societies, under such names as Endeh or Mamboru or Kodi, had any comparable identities at the pertinent times in the past; but it is still feasible to consider the social forms that they exemplify as constituting "instants in a general process of structural change" (Needham, 1968a, p. 330). Whether these instants are to be arranged in a linear series of successive transformations, or whether they should be conceived of instead as products of separate lines of evolution, is a problem to which, as far as I can see, there is no decisive answer, either formal or empirical.

The continuities in Sumbanese social forms make up a set of structural transitions, and the contiguous distribution of variant forms throughout west Sumba can be interpreted historically as a series of transformations from a basis of asymmetric prescriptive alliance. In the consideration of this hypothesis it is to be presumed that there are indeed, as van Wouden has written, "tendencies within culture itself" that bring about

structural changes (1935, p. 89; 1968, p. 85). Yet it can also be accepted that innumerable particular factors may have contributed to the formation of any given system, and that very unlike factors can produce like forms of society (Needham, 1974b, pp. 39–40). In any event, it is not plausible that the postulated changes should have been the results of conscious alterations made corporately by Sumbanese individuals with certain ends in view; and, to the extent that deliberate changes may in fact have been made, on sporadic occasions in the number of domains at issue, it is the greater puzzle that the hypothetical transformations should fall as readily as they do along an east–west axis.

It is easy to conceive, in general terms, that the development of social forms may be subject to certain constraints, both logical and pragmatic, and that such constraints tend to compose institutions falling into a limited number of types of system (see Needham, 1974a, p. 47); but until we have isolated empirically the effective “tendencies” that bring about transformations, and can thus account causally for the vector they may follow, we shall still have no convincing explanation of the evolution of society in eastern Indonesia.

2 The Marriage Nexus among the Manggarai of West Flores

John L. Gordon

ALTHOUGH THE MARRIAGE PRACTICES of the Manggarai of west Flores were not mentioned by van Wouden in his pioneering study of social organization in eastern Indonesia, they have nevertheless assumed a place in the debate on prescriptive alliance since Needham's 1966 article, "Terminology and Alliance." Prior to Needham's analysis, the Manggarai were known to non-Indonesianists only from a one-sentence remark in *Les structures élémentaires de la parenté* by Lévi-Strauss (1949, p. 572), who incorrectly reported that the Manggarai practice "bilateral marriage."¹ The reason for this error, however, is quite understandable. Lévi-Strauss based his information on an account by Loeb (1933, p. 16), who in turn had cited Frazer (1919, vol. 2, pp. 168-169), who had taken the following sentence from an obscure article on the Manggarai by Meerburg: "One must marry within the family if possible, such as nephew with niece" (1891, p. 466).² Even Needham, who based his 1966 article on the work of two astute observers, was misled in some of his evaluations of the evidence on Manggarai marriage. Thus, the need is clear both for fresh evidence relating to Manggarai categories and social organization and for an examination of that evidence.

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The Manggarai of West Flores

The people who are known as the Manggarai occupy almost one-third of Flores. They number more than 320,000, and their language is classified within the Bima-Sumba subgroup of Indonesian languages. The region of Manggarai covers 6,700 square kilometers and is bounded on the north by the Flores Sea, on the south by the Savu Sea, on the east by the Straits of Komodo, and on the west by the region of Ngada. The Manggarai subsist mainly by a primitive swidden agriculture, but for the last two decades the area devoted to permanent rice terraces, both irrigated and nonirrigated, has been increasing. Rice and maize are the principal crops; coffee, onions, and green grams (mung beans) are grown for export. The Manggarai neither fish nor hunt, nor do they herd animals. They do, however, raise fine horses mainly for use as pack animals and large water buffalo primarily for export, but sometimes for use in working the land.

Historically, the Manggarai were a subject people. For centuries their overlords were alternately the Bimanese of Sumbawa and the Makassarese of Sulawesi (Celebes). The Dutch, who arrived in the first decade of the twentieth century, were soon followed by Catholic priests. As a result, in Manggarai today—as indeed in all of Flores—the population, according to the Church, is more than 90 percent Catholic. The traditional political system consisted of independent noble clans whose heads, or *Dalu*, ruled the various regions of Manggarai. The head of the noble clan of Todo, supported by the Sultan of Bima, maintained nominal authority over the other rulers. In 1929, the Dutch selected a direct descendant of the Todo rulers to become the first Radja of Manggarai under a policy of self-rule (*zelfbestuur*).

Structurally, the present system of government resembles the traditional one. The *Bupati*, the head of the region, has replaced the Radja, and under the Bupati are ten *Camat*, who have replaced the Dalu. The current officeholders are, for the most part, not descended from noble clans; and clans as such no longer have political rights. Disputes that cannot be settled by a Camat are sent to the regional branch of the national court in Ruteng, which is presided over by a Balinese judge.

Descent in Manggarai follows a patrilineal pattern in that a male child belongs to his father's descent group. At birth the expression *ata oné* ("inside person," that is, one who remains within the clan) announces the birth of a boy, while the



Women harvesting rice in Manggarai (copyright © 1980 by John L. Gordon)

expression *ata pé'ang* ("outside person," or one who leaves the clan) signifies the birth of a girl. Parents consider a girl a temporary ward, a child to be clothed, fed, and worked until she marries.

Clan membership in Manggarai is a significant feature of social organization. Actual clan structure is loose and flexible; however, the practice of forming new clans with new names from large powerful lineages does not exist. To understand fully the role of the clan, the clan must be considered within the context of the village, which is the fundamental unit of Manggarai society.

Most villages comprise two or more named clans (*wa'u* or *suku*³). *Wa'u* vary in size and prestige but are no longer classified as either noble or commoner. Only a tenuous thread of common origin unites a *wa'u*; for instance, most members of *wa'u* Nuling know that their original *kampong* ("village") was near Todo and that they are forbidden to eat certain types of beans. Other than this, however, they feel no unity; and marriage is not

only allowed between clan members living in different villages, it is also permitted between clan members residing in the same village (preferably when there is a separation of at least three generations in their relationship).

The Relationship Terminology

Both the kin terminology and the marriage practices of the Manggarai have been described and analyzed by several writers. Some of the early Dutch colonial officers commented on these topics, but, except for Coolhaas's (1942), their accounts are of little value. Fischer (1957), who made the first modern analysis using a terminology collected by Father Verheijen, found the terminology in Manggarai "in flat contradiction" to the type of marriage alliance practiced. Several years later Needham (1966) used the Manggarai as an example to support his thesis that "there is a clear contrast" between the categories of a kinship terminology and the empirical social acts of a marriage system. Both Fischer and Needham concluded that the terminology in Manggarai was symmetric and that the type of marriage practiced was asymmetric. In fact, neither of these conclusions is correct, at least not in an absolute sense.

The Manggarai terminology is confusing at a number of points, perhaps in part because of dialectal variation. Hard-and-fast lines cannot be drawn between dialect regions, yet variation between regions is significant. In the terminology below, which is based on Verheijen's (1970, pp. 100-101), I have omitted terms not commonly used in central Manggarai.⁴ In doing so, I have deliberately disregarded the specifications for the term *to'a* (MB, MBW, WF, WM), which Verheijen reports from west Manggarai, because they are particularly unusual in the context of the use of "to'a" in central Manggarai.

<i>empo</i>	PP
<i>ema</i>	F, FB, MZH
<i>endé</i>	M, MZ, FBW
<i>amang</i>	MB, FZH, WF, HF
<i>inang</i>	FZ, MBW, WM, HM
<i>nara</i>	B, FBS, MBS, FZS, MZS (w.s., all specifications), H (addr.)
<i>weta</i>	Z, FBD, MBD, FZD, MZD (m.s., all specifications), W (addr.)
<i>ka'é</i>	eB (m.s.), eZ (w.s.), HeW (addr.), HeB, WeZ, eBW (m.s.), eZH (w.s.)

<i>asé</i>	yB (m.s.), yZ (w.s.), HyB, WyZ, yBW (m.s.), yZH (w.s.), HyW (addr.)
<i>asé-ka'é</i>	FBS, FZS, MZS, MBS, WZH (m.s., all specifications), FBD, FZD, MZD, MBD (w.s., all specifications), ZH (w.s.)
<i>anak</i>	C, BC (m.s.), ZC (w.s.), WZC, HBC
<i>to'a</i>	BC (w.s.), ZC (m.s.), HZC, WBC
<i>bangkong</i>	ZC
<i>wina</i>	W
<i>rona</i>	H
<i>késa</i>	WB, ZH, DHF, SWF (m.s.)
<i>ipar</i>	HZ, BW, WBW, HZH (w.s.)
<i>koa</i>	DH
<i>woté</i>	SW
<i>empo</i>	CC

Needham's analysis, based on an earlier, somewhat less comprehensive list prepared by Verheijen (reported in Fischer, 1957) as well as on a description by the Dutch colonial officer Coolhaas (1942, p. 347), indicates that "the Manggarai terminology presents in general the structure of a system of symmetric alliance" (Needham, 1966, p. 152). Needham notes that Fischer had already "concluded, with special reference to the equations $MB = FZH$ and $HF = WF$, that the terminology suggests 'the existence of a symmetrical connubium' (1957, p. 20)." There are serious problems, however, with this conclusion, not the least of which is Needham's exclusion of MBD as a specification of "weta," which is also the indisputable term for Z and FZD. This exclusion is understandable according to Needham since both Coolhaas and Verheijen "agree that FZD is designated by the term, and it seems unlikely that MBD should also be thus designated, for in this case the class of bilateral cross-cousins would be known by the same term as the sister, etc., and the obvious inference would be that marriage with both FZD and MBD was forbidden" (1966, p. 150).

My own field observations, which support those of Verheijen, whose knowledge of the Manggarai language is extensive, demand a different framework for interpreting the Manggarai terminology. Both Needham's own description—"prescriptive terminologies can readily be identified by the invariant relation that articulates relations between lines" (1971, p. 20)—and the Manggarai terminology itself— $Z = MBD = FZD$, for example—support the view that the terminology is not prescriptive. If

we dispense with the notion of prescription, the terminology can best be viewed as one in which distinctions in ego's generation are based only on sex. Thus, for a male ego his *asé-ka'é* are all of his younger/elder brothers as well as his male parallel cousins and cross-cousins (FBS, FZS, MBS, and MZS), and his *weta* are his sisters and his female parallel cousins and cross-cousins (FBD, FZD, MBD, MZD). For a female ego her *asé-ka'é* are her younger/elder sisters and her female parallel cousins and cross-cousins (FBD, FZD, MBD, and MZD), and her *nara* are her brothers and her male parallel cousins and cross-cousins (FBS, FZS, MBS, and MZS).

The terms for H and W are "rona" and "wina," respectively, and, as is common in Southeast Asia, spouses often call each other by brother/sister terms. Thus, a man calls his wife *weta* and she calls him *nara*. In these discriminations the Manggarai terminology resembles the Rotinese terminology (Fox, 1968, pp. 343-344), in which the terms *ka'a* and *fadi* distinguish elder from younger, *feto* is equivalent to "weta," and *na* is equivalent to "nara."

In the first ascending level, however, the terms are consistent with a symmetric terminology. Ema is F, FB, and MZH; ende is M, MZ, and FBW; amang is MB, FZH, WF, and HF; and inang is FZ, MBW, HM, and WM. The terms in my list for the first descending generation also are consistent with a symmetric terminology, with the exception that SW is *woté*. The affinal terms are "késa," indicating WB and ZH, DHF and SWF, and "ipar," indicating HZ and BW, WBW and HZH.

The Manggarai terminology therefore does not prescribe marriage with a particular relative but simply groups relatives of ego's generation into two categories, *asé-ka'é* and *weta-nara*. However, both the first ascending and the first descending levels are symmetric. As a whole the terminology is flexible and quite adaptable to the types of marriage alliance in which the Manggarai engage. A contrast between the supposed symmetry of the terminology and the observed asymmetry of Manggarai marriage is spurious.

Alliance Categories

A common feature in accounts of Manggarai marriage is the emphasis on the type of alliance known as *tungku*, which has been described in the literature as "unilateral cross-cousin conubium" (Coolhaas, 1942, p. 348), "asymmetrical cross-cousin marriage" (Fischer, 1957, p. 17), and "asymmetric prescriptive

alliance" (Needham, 1966, p. 153). Needham in particular is concerned with *tungku* because, as a form of asymmetric alliance, it represents an empirical contrast to the categories of the "symmetric terminology." In Manggarai today, however, few people marry *tungku*, and it is my suspicion that few ever did.

The Manggarai recognize several types of marriage.⁵ The most frequent, accounting for about 83 percent of all marriages, is called *cangkang*, which literally means "another person" or "guest" (Indonesian: *orang lain* or *tamu*), and is a marriage of previously unrelated people. Thus, the Manggarai might say *laki du cangkang olon* ("he marries outside his kin") about a man who does not marry *tungku*. *Tungku* ("to tie" or "to connect") accounts for about 15 percent of all marriages. When a *tungku* alliance is formed, a man marries his MBD, in which case the marriage is called *tungku cu* (*cu*: "close"; Indonesian: *dekati*); his MFB, FBW, or FBWBD, *tungku canggol* (*canggol*: "to pick one from many"); or a woman of a lineage with whom he has a distant relation by marriage, *tungku mède* (*mède*: "in the past"; Indonesian: *sudah lama*). Naturally, a *cangkang* marriage is a necessary precedent for establishing a *tungku* relationship. Probably 25 percent of *tungku* marriages are with the MBD and therefore are *tungku cu*. Statistically, this means that in a nuclear family with six children, one child marries *tungku*. One sibling's continuing the *tungku* relationship of his parents with the others' marrying *cangkang* is a practice I observed to be generally the case in the village of Lamba Nderu, a typical village with a population of about 300.

Among the other, less frequent types of marriage in Manggarai is *cako* ("to divide" or "to cut up meat"), a marriage within the clan. *Cako cama asé-ka'é*, or *cako se-ka'é* ("to divide the younger and elder brothers"), refers to the marriage of the children of two brothers, and *cako cama salang* ("to divide the path") is the marriage of children of two sisters. Structurally, *cako cama salang* can occur in either of two ways: (1) Two sisters marry the sons of two brothers and then the offspring of these unions marry each other. Since the children of the two sisters are also the children of two brothers, one generation removed, the marriage of the children could correctly be called both *cako se-ka'é* and *cako cama salang*. (2) Two sisters from, say, clan Pupung marry into different clans, say clans Nuling and Jong, and their offspring marry each other. Clan Pupung, then, is *anak rona* ("wife-giver") to both Nuling and Jong. Thus, the marriage of the children takes place between two clans that stand as *anak wina* ("wife-taker") to Pupung.

Lili refers to a marriage between a man and the widow of a deceased brother. A customary gift to the woman's parents of one horse, the *jarang caling sa'i* ("horse to change the face"), marks the transaction. The clan branch may, however, allow a man of another clan to marry the widow after negotiating with her father and brothers.

Tinu lalo ("to raise the orphan"), in contrast, is the name given to a marriage between a man and his deceased wife's younger sister. It entails a truncated, though otherwise normal, process of negotiation and bridewealth transfer.

Emi duluk refers to a marriage of a man to two sisters, if not simultaneously, at least at some time while both women are alive.

Toko tondol ("to sleep in layers") is the term applied to a marriage of two sisters to two brothers. This type of marriage, however, is strongly forbidden and is allowed only after the second brother enters another clan or a distant branch of his own clan. It is prohibited altogether in a tungku alliance.

The Idiom of Alliance

The most important feature of marriage for the Manggarai is not the type; rather it is the fact that marriage divides ego's social world into two categories: the groups composing his anak rona and those composing his anak wina. The former are the clans from whom his clan has received wives; the latter, the ones to whom his clan has given wives. Beyond any analysis of the terminology we may make and any importance we may attach to tungku marriage lies this fundamental division. The terms "anak rona" and "anak wina" represent the most significant division of ego's social world. The alliances formed between anak rona and anak wina are not only lifelong, and in some cases renewable through succeeding generations; they also represent a fixed relationship of status and obligation between the two families involved. This relationship, while most evident during marriage ceremonies, permeates much of Manggarai social activity.

The strongest restriction on marriage that the Manggarai have is that a man should not marry a woman from a clan that stands as anak wina to him. But even this restriction is not unbreakable. It weakens as the distance of relationship between clans increases. In tungku alliances the prohibition is strongest, and the ritual expression *émé salang manuk situ, toé ngancéng ciri salang ela, boto sala le Morin* ("God will punish if the path of chickens becomes the path of pigs") succinctly expresses it in

terms of traditional marriage prestations. At marriage feasts, and on other occasions when anak rona and anak wina dine together, the anak rona present pigs to their anak wina, and the anak wina in turn must supply chickens, goats, or dogs to their anak rona.

The perpetuation of a marriage alliance is important to the Manggarai, especially after the first tungku marriage (the second marriage between two families) has been contracted. Various advantages accrue to those who continue the tungku relationship: The groom's family, for instance, by taking a wife from a clan to which it is already related, does not increase its potential obligations, as it would if it allied with a new anak rona. Also, a future marriage can be tentatively settled with the birth of ZS and BD. Furthermore, the expensive traditional marriage ceremony (*nempung*) can be postponed, with the permission of the anak rona, until a child of the couple marries tungku. This not only delays part of the bridewealth payment but reduces the amount as well. *Nempung inang olo woté musi*, literally meaning "the aunt (HM, FZ) first, then the niece (BD) follows," describes this procedure. An additional advantage of continuing to marry tungku is that during a famine a family can *ngo ngendé* ("go ask for food") from its anak rona. The power of the request appears to be stronger when the alliance is tungku rather than cangkang.

Marriage Negotiations

Parents, in consultation with the elders of the clan, arrange all their children's marriages. In the past, most marriage partners were selected by the children's parents, and this procedure remains much the same today. The practice of forcing a girl to accept the decision of her parents, however, is not as extreme as it used to be, when a reluctant girl was subjected first to considerable emotional suasion by her elders and then, if she remained firm in her resolve, to a graduated form of torture called *kemel*. Today, most marriages are arranged, or so it is said, with the consent of the children, and in many cases the parents act on their children's choices. Nevertheless, recalcitrant offspring are still subjected to considerable pressure when they do not submit to alliances strongly desired by their parents.

The criteria for choosing a marriage partner are difficult to specify because they differ somewhat between town and village, educated and uneducated, rich and poor. But once the choice is made—be it based on considerations of wealth, education, prestige, availability, or simple convenience—the process of determining the bridewealth is basically the same.

The Manggarai do not have an inclusive term in their language for the sum of payments and prestations that compose the bridewealth, but they occasionally use the local Indonesian term *belis*. The major prestation of the *belis* is the *paca*, the amount of which determines the success or failure of the negotiations. It consists of animals (water buffalo and horses) plus money. In addition to the *paca*, about 30 prestations are enumerated by custom and tradition. Many of these are no longer requested during marriage negotiations. Instead, the bride's family attempts to extract large sums from the groom's family by plying them during the negotiations with food, drink, tobacco, betel, and areca nut for which they must pay inflated prices. The term for the payment for these items, *doi kotor* ("dirty money"), appropriately combines the Manggarai term for money, derived from the Dutch *duit*, with the Indonesian term for dirty. The *doi kotor* represents a substantial percentage of the total money transferred during a marriage. Of the traditional payments, the *doi pongo* ("money to bind") and the *doi podo* ("money to travel") are usually the largest sums after the *paca*. The former seals the engagement, and the latter is given when the bride travels in procession to the village of her husband.

After a potential bride has been chosen, the groom's father and father's brothers select a man skilled in debating and bargaining, someone who knows the *adat* of marriage, to serve as their speaker (*tongka*) during the negotiations. The father may not act as *tongka*, but any other man may. These men travel to the girl's parents' house, where, in a formal exchange of questions and answers, they indicate their desire to take the girl in marriage for one of their sons. The use of a special language at these encounters is no longer customary, but certain ritual metaphors, some phrased in parallel, are still used. The use of the Indonesian language is strictly prohibited. At the first meeting, for example, the speaker for the *anak wina*, the groom's family, tells the host, the *anak rona*, that they are just stopping by on their way to some other village. The *anak rona*, knowing the real intent, dispute this statement. Then the *tongka* for the *anak wina* replies: *Le ita kala le pa'an, le hitu tara batu mbau tuluk pu'ung* ("We have seen the betel leaf in front of the village and have followed it to its source"). The betel leaf is, of course, the young girl.

The *anak rona* acknowledges that the betel leaf is his and then requests *doi kembung* ("love money") from the *anak wina* as proof of their intentions. This may amount to 500 rupiahs (Rp).⁶

The girl is brought out by her mother to serve betel and areca nut to the guests; thus her potential husband has a chance to look her over and make his final decision. If he is pleased, the girl comes forward again and they exchange rings, or the boy gives the girl a small gift of money, rarely more than Rp 1,000. The *tongka* for each side bargain to set the amount of the *doi pongo*, usually Rp 35,000–Rp 50,000, which is used by the *anak rona* to buy clothing and household goods for the bride. After this amount has been agreed on, the *anak rona* orders the *ela mbukut* (the “pig to bind the promise”) slaughtered and a meal prepared for the *anak wina*. The *anak wina* in turn must present the *anak rona* with a goat (the *mbé uté latang anak rona*), or a dog if he is poor, so that the *anak rona* too will have meat to eat. After the meal, representatives from both sides take a reckoning of how much palm wine and gin has been drunk and how many cigarettes have been smoked during the negotiations, and the *anak rona* charges the *anak wina* twice the usual price for these items. When the *doi pongo* has been set, the *anak wina* either return home and begin to prepare for the negotiation of the bridewealth or, if already prepared, continue the session until the settlement is made.

The *cerep paca* (“deciding the bridewealth”) is a bargaining session similar to the discussion of the *doi pongo*. The *anak rona* begins by asking for water buffalo and horses, perhaps three of the former and seven of the latter, and the *anak wina* counters by offering, say, two horses and one water buffalo. Bargaining continues until the two sides reach an agreement, which in this example would probably be one or two water buffalo and three or four horses. The *anak rona* then makes his request for money, usually an impossible sum, and the *anak wina* in turn offers about half of what he expects to pay. If a settlement is reached—and a successful conclusion is by no means certain from the outset—another *ela mbukut* and *mbé uté latang anak rona* may be sacrificed, and the *anak wina* return to their village to prepare the required gifts. The *anak rona* also prepares an additional pig (the *ela lembet te ndeng paca*) to be eaten at the *nempung* ceremony, which is held when the water buffalo and horses are delivered by the *anak wina*. Bridewealth settlements currently average Rp 40,000–Rp 100,000 in addition to the animals.

After the sums have been agreed on, a crucial question remains for the *anak wina*. The *anak rona* asks: *Nempung ko umber?* If the *anak wina* thinks that he will not be able to raise the sums decided on in a reasonable length of time (several

months), he replies: *Toé oné pa'ang le mai, maik oné ngaung wa mai* (which literally means "not entering through the front yard, but coming in through the back yard"). This answer indicates that the anak wina is not able to enter the house of the anak rona through the front door as a proper guest but must enter through the back door because he does not have all of the required bride-wealth at hand. (The expression *céhi ri'i, wuka wancang*, "to break open the roof thatch, to break through the floor slats" also graphically expresses this thought.) If the anak wina answers in this way, the previous decision is void and the discussants must begin negotiating the bridewealth again. However, the sum previously agreed on serves as a guideline: for example, if Rp 100,000 was the paca for nempung, the paca for *umber* (the "temporary" ceremony that replaces the larger nempung ceremony) is likely to be about Rp 50,000.

Several points about umber deserve emphasis: completion of the umber ceremony permits the couple to live together; the husband must reside with or near his wife's parents unless they give the couple permission to leave; and only after completion of the nempung ceremony is a couple officially married according to adat. Thus, if a man wishes to reside with his own clan and to raise his children as members of that clan, he must at some point bargain again and raise an even larger sum so that he can hold a delayed nempung ceremony. Furthermore, at any time after umber and as often as they desire, the anak rona may ask that the nempung be held. If the poor anak wina is not yet capable, he must refuse the request and postpone the ceremony again. (The request is *soka nempung*; the postponement, *donggo nempung*.) When the ceremony is postponed, though, the anak wina must give the anak rona a goat (or a horse) and Rp 1,000. A merciful anak rona does not repeatedly badger his anak wina with requests for nempung, and if the anak wina brings a water buffalo for sacrifice at the umber feast instead of a horse or cow, the anak rona is obligated not to soka nempung but to wait for a son of the couple to marry tungku. In monetary terms, the anak wina who has given Rp 50,000 at the umber feast probably has to give Rp 100,000 at a delayed nempung. But if the anak wina and anak rona wait for a tungku alliance, the payment for the combined nempung would be only Rp 100,000. The anak wina must, however, bring two water buffalo (*kaba uté*) rather than one for the anak rona to eat.

After the decision is made to hold either the umber or the nempung ceremony and the bridewealth is determined, the

anak rona signals his agreement by asking that the decision not be broken in the future: *Néka lekas ného remang, néka to'o ného pokot* ("Do not split open like grass, do not swell like a wound"), and the anak rona gives the anak wina a bracelet. In turn, the anak wina gives a small sum of money (Rp 500–Rp 1,000) to the bride so that she will not resist the decision. Finally, the anak rona asks for money for the women who will accompany the bride and groom to the church to register their names and announce the impending marriage (*ngo kabar kawin*) to the priest, who will arrange a church ceremony separate from the adat ceremony. After bargaining, these women receive about Rp 5,000 from the anak wina. Then the anak wina asks permission of the host to leave. As a parting gesture, the anak wina give the mother of the bride about Rp 2,000 for betel, areca nut, and cigarettes and about Rp 500 to the speaker for the anak rona. The negotiations are over, but the social ramifications of the impending alliance are just beginning, for soon the anak wina must call together those who are obligated to him and request their help in accumulating the bridewealth.

The Marriage Nexus

A feature of asymmetric marriage systems that has received much attention is the possibility that a closed cycle of exchange between three or more groups can exist. Indeed, Needham (1966, p. 153) traces two such alliance cycles among old Manggarai chiefdoms: Kolang → Todo → Pongkor → Ndosso → Kolang and Ndosso → Todo → Pongkor → Ndosso. The significance of these cycles in the past is debatable. Today, the important feature of every marriage in Manggarai is its effects on four social groups: the anak rona, the *anak rona sa'i* (the "anak rona of the anak rona"; *sa'i*: "head"), the anak wina, and the anak wina of the anak wina. Rather than as an array of cycles, marriage in Manggarai is better represented as the nexus at which anak rona and anak wina meet and to which they draw the anak rona sa'i and the anak wina of the anak wina.

In practice this works as follows: The anak wina, at the conclusion of bridewealth negotiations, returns to his village and sends requests (*sida*) for money and animals to those people to whom his family has given women, his anak wina. In terms of actual obligations, whole clans are not involved, only men who have married the future groom's sisters and their daughters, his father's sisters, and his father's brother's daughters must con-

tribute. The groom's father asks each of them for a sum between Rp 10,000 and Rp 20,000, the amount of the request depending on the number in the group; in addition to the money, each contributes a horse. With the exception of the groom's sister's husband (*késá*), who must bring a water buffalo instead of a horse, all contribute equal amounts. In a *tungku* alliance, the groom's FZ and his Z pay *sida* only once, a sum equal to only one share, not two.

Five days or so before *nempung*, the *anak wina* announces the holding of the *bekang* feast. All the *anak wina* of the *anak wina* must come to this gathering to present the requested contributions. The host prepares two or three pigs for them to eat and, in return for each horse they bring, presents them with either a Manggarai cloth (*kain songké* or *lipa songké*) or the head of a pig plus fat and meat measuring five fingers in thickness. The horses are called *jarang cangkal*, and a horse for which the host does not return a gift is a *jarang cangkal mata* ("dead horse contribution"). A return gift is not presented to any contributor of a horse who still owes bridewealth payments to the host; in this case, the gift (the horse) "dies." In addition to contributing cash and animals, those who bring *sida* must jointly pay twice the normal price for all food, drink, and cigarettes that they consume. (According to some Manggarai, the practice of raising money this way began with the increased use of paper currency in the 1930s.) Finally, the contributors must also respond with small cash gifts to the numerous traditional requests that the *bekang* feast has in common with *nempung*: *sélék reba* ("the fancy clothes"), a few hundred rupiahs for the groom's new clothes; *cuci cewé* ("to wash the dishes"), small sums to those who cook the pigs; and *cau wa'i ela* ("to hold the pigs' feet"), a hundred rupiahs to those who slaughter and carve the pig. When these gifts are presented, those who still have money go with the *anak wina*, their *anak rona*, to the *nempung* ceremony. The others return home.

The *anak wina* are now prepared for the marriage. On the designated day, they go, with gongs playing, in procession to the village and the house of the bride. On their arrival, usually late in the afternoon, the *nempung* ceremony begins. They are met at the entrance to the village, given palm wine, and led to the house of the *anak rona*. There they drink coffee and palm wine and are given a place to change clothes before eating. After the meal, the *tongka* are called forward and the marriage ritual begins.

The Marriage Ceremony

The nempung ceremony takes the form of an exchange of questions and answers. With each answer the anak wina offers a small sum of money as a sign of his sincerity. The anak wina may not refuse a requested sum, but the tongka may ask that the amount be reduced. During the ceremony, the difference in status between the anak rona as wife-giver and the anak wina as wife-taker is evident in the terms of address used by each side. The anak rona calls the anak wina *hau* (Indonesian: *engkau*), the term for "you" that denotes familiarity and is used for children; on the other hand, the anak wina must respectfully refer to his anak rona as *mori* ("master" or "owner") and demean himself and his agnates by using the word *mendid* ("your slaves" or "your servants"). The anak rona sit on cushions slightly elevated above the anak wina, who sit on mats.

Today, the Manggarai do not adhere strictly to adat; they are apparently shifting from the traditional gifts and procedures as a means of receiving money to the more lucrative method of plying the anak wina with food, drink, and tobacco, which the anak wina cannot refuse and for which they must pay double the market price.

At an early point in the discussions, the anak rona asks the name of his guests' village (*ngoéng béo*: "to desire the village," a reference to the anak wina's desire to form an alliance between the two villages). Announcing the name of his village, the anak wina presents the anak rona with a small sum of money, perhaps Rp 500, and the anak rona replies that it is not for money that he asked the village name; rather he asked because the two villages want to "know" each other, and this is one purpose of marriage. (*Ngoéng* also means "to sleep with" or "to copulate.")

Usually the anak wina are required to pay other sums, such as a "late arrival fee" (*galek leso ge*), even if they arrive at the appointed hour on the appointed day; a fee "to awaken the mother" (*kéngko toko isé endén*), although she likely is not asleep; another "to break open the fence" (*keti kintal*), though the anak wina enter through the gate and door; as well as a fee "to cut the knots of the rope calendar" (*keti riket*), as compensation to the father who cannot work in the fields because he must guard the rope.⁷ These payments range from Rp 250 to Rp 1,000 each.

Furthermore, the anak rona asks that the agreed on belis be increased by, say, Rp 10,000. He contends that the original

amount is "not enough for the mother" (*toé rangko isé endén*), and the anak wina replies, as indeed he so often must during the discussion: *Somba Mori, jongkong toé pongo, daku mendi dité, kopé toé wolét* ("I'm sorry, Mori, my hat has no string and my machete has no sheath"), meaning that he is a very poor man who cannot pay more. The anak wina points out also that the exact amount of the paca has already been agreed on and should not be changed. Then the anak wina offers about Rp 1,000 and later, after bargaining, actually gives between Rp 3,000 and Rp 5,000.

The bride is then brought out (*angkak*) and again the anak wina must pay. He must also bargain with the bearers of the bride's chair so that they will carry her to the groom. The bearers stop and ask for money, *puli toé lako* ("to ask, not go"), and after bargaining the anak wina gives about Rp 1,000. Bargaining stops again, starts again, and the anak wina gives again. This process continues until the bearers have, say, Rp 5,000, and only then do they set the bride down in front of the groom. Friends and family members who accompany the bride receive another Rp 5,000. Before the bride steps down from her chair and closes her parasol, she receives another gift, called *wa'u wa agu rencu pajung* ("to step down and close the parasol"), of about Rp 10,000. Following this prestation, the bride gives betel and areca nut to her husband and his family and sits down beside him, and her friends return to their places.

The names (*ngasang*) of the bride and groom are then announced, along with their clan prohibitions, and the bride becomes a member of her husband's clan by adopting the prohibitions of his clan and renouncing those of her father's; this is called *podo ireng*. A prayer (*tudak*) is offered in which the names of the bride and groom and the names of the two witnesses (*paténg*), one for each side, are spoken and a blessing of the union is asked of Mori Keraéng. With this prayer the marriage becomes official.

The anak wina then presents the paca previously decided on. For each animal that the anak wina will present the anak rona the following morning, the anak wina gives a sum (Rp 250–Rp 500), which represents each animal's rope (*oras*). The anak rona indicates the room in which the bride and groom will sleep, and, after final payment of about Rp 5,000 to persuade the women to leave the designated room, everyone goes to sleep.

The next morning the anak wina are awakened and given coffee, and the bride and groom are brought out accompanied by

the bride's girl friends, to each of whom the anak wina must give Rp 100. The kaba uté is presented then and the other animals are inspected; the kaba uté is slaughtered and a feast is prepared. After the feast, the anak wina pays those who prepared the feast (the cuci céwé, for example) plus various other people before preparing to leave. The amount of food, drink, and tobacco consumed is calculated and paid for; this sum alone usually reaches Rp 10,000.

The anak wina then returns home to prepare for the *podo* procession, which in a few days will bring the newlyweds to the groom's village. Meanwhile the groom stays in his wife's village, where his father-in-law is busy dividing the paca among those to whom he is obligated. At this point the anak rona sa'i (the father or the brother of the mother of the bride), who has quietly witnessed the previous proceedings without taking part, speaks up and requests his share of the bridewealth money. By tradition the anak rona sa'i receives about 40 percent of the total money—bargaining determines the exact amount—plus the head and as much as half the meat of the kaba uté. He is also due a portion of the other gifts with the exception of the animals, which are exclusively for the bride's parents. Furthermore, for the generous contribution of rice, palm wine, and a pig (*ela kolo*) that the anak rona sa'i brings, he is compensated at twice the market price; this is in addition to the goat or cow given to him on his arrival before the ceremony. Of the remaining 60 percent of the money, the father of the bride retains about Rp 10,000, or 10 percent, after distributing shares to the members of his family.

Within a day or so of the conclusion of the nempung ceremony, the anak rona travel by horse in procession to the village of the anak wina. At each fork in the path, each bridge, and each village, the procession stops, and the anak wina points out the correct way and gives a few hundred rupiahs to the anak rona. But sometimes, to avoid this protracted journey, the anak wina quietly gives the bride's parents a lump sum of several thousand rupiahs after nempung so that they will allow the couple to "run off together," a practice called *campé inang* ("to help the wife's mother"). Normally, when the procession arrives at the village of the anak wina, the final important exchange of gifts takes place. Before entering the groom's house the anak rona must give the *weda para* ("to open the door") gift, which consists of one traditional cloth, a kain songké. The anak wina must accept the kain songké and as a return gift offers the anak rona a horse. If he does not have a horse, he may cover the cloth with a cloth of equal value of his own and then give both to the anak rona. A

second cloth, the *lipa pecing tanan* ("cloth to know the land") is also given and, like the *weda para*, requires a horse as a return gift. The *anak rona* gives a third cloth, with the same conditions, to the witness for the *anak wina*. These three cloths plus a number of other gift cloths, which require money but no horses in return, are collectively called *wida* and serve as the *anak rona*'s "reply" to the *belis* given by the *anak wina*.

Before the party enters the *anak wina*'s house, a present, of course, is given for the bride to dismount her horse and close her parasol; the boy who leads her horse is paid, as are those who have carried her possessions and the girl friends who have accompanied her. The sacrificial pig (*tudak ela podo*) brought by the *anak rona* must be paid for, at twice the usual price naturally, and so must the rice that they bring. In addition, a goat is slaughtered so that the *anak rona* will have meat to eat that night. The next morning a cow or a water buffalo is prepared for the midday meal, and the *anak rona* carry the uneaten meat back to their village. This concludes the marriage ceremony.

The Structure of Alliance

In *Types of Social Structure in Eastern Indonesia*, van Wouden demonstrated that cross-cousin marriage "is the logical expression of a systematic communication of women among larger social groups" (1968, p. 87). He emphasized the possibility of closed cycles of affinally related clans: "An integral system of affinal relationships based on unilaterality entails that all the clans of the tribe are linked to one another in a closed chain of marriage connexions" (1968, p. 88). But for any single clan, van Wouden noted the insignificance of the clans with which it has no relationships. For any single clan, the "social element of great importance" is the triad of itself (that is, the ego clan), the wife-giving group, and the wife-taking group. "As far as the ego-clan is concerned, the triad is entirely self-sufficient." "From the stand-point of the ego-clan, . . . its entire social activity can be fully realized through the relationships with its two partner-clans" (1968, p. 89).

This interpretation has to be revised, however, if it is to be applied to marriage in Manggarai. The wife-giving and wife-taking units identified as clans by van Wouden are in Manggarai much smaller subclan units, and exclusive relationships between wife-giving and wife-taking groups are not maintained to such an extent that any one group always gives wives to and always takes wives from the same other groups.

The structure that van Wouden identified as the triad can be represented in the following way:

$$\begin{array}{ccccc} A & & B & & C \\ W-G \rightarrow & W-T/W-G & \rightarrow & W-T \\ & \text{(Ego clan)} & & & \end{array}$$

The structure of Manggarai marriage, however, is represented more appropriately as two units, each containing two subunits, than as a triad:

$$\begin{array}{ccccccc} A & & B & & C & & D \\ (W-G \rightarrow & W-T/W-G) & \rightarrow & (W-T/W-G \rightarrow & W-T) \\ & \text{(Ego clan)} & & & \end{array}$$

Substituting the Manggarai terms "anak rona" and "anak wina" yields, for a single marriage:

$$\begin{array}{ccccccc} A & & B & & C & & D \\ (AR\ sa'i \rightarrow & AW/AR) & \rightarrow & (AW/AR \rightarrow & AW) \\ & \text{(Anak rona)} & & & \text{(Anak wina)} \end{array}$$

That is, group B gives a wife to group C; group A stands as anak rona sa'i (the giver of the mother of the bride) to group C; group D stands as anak wina to group C; and groups A and B together are anak rona to groups C and D. For a series of marriages, the relative nature of the positions is represented by the following:

$$\begin{array}{ccccccccccc} A & & B & & C & & D & & E & & F & & G \\ (AR\ sa'i \rightarrow & AW/AR) & \rightarrow & (AW/AR \rightarrow & AW) & & & & & & & & \\ & (AR\ sa'i \rightarrow & AW/AR) & \rightarrow & (AW/AR \rightarrow & AW) & & & & & & & \\ & & (AR\ sa'i \rightarrow & AW/AR) & \rightarrow & (AW/AR \rightarrow & AW) & & & & & & \\ & & & (AR\ sa'i \rightarrow & AW/AR) & \rightarrow & (AW/AR \rightarrow & AW) \end{array}$$

For example, because group C is anak rona to group D in the second line, group C naturally becomes anak rona sa'i to group E in the third line. When the columns are ordered by position rather than by group, the following configuration, in which the groups listed on the left stand as anak rona to the groups listed on the right, obtains:

$$\begin{array}{ccccccc} & \text{Anak rona} & & \text{Anak wina} & & & \\ A & & B & & C & & D \\ (AR\ sa'i \rightarrow & AW/AR) & \rightarrow & (AW/AR \rightarrow & AW) & & \\ B & & C & & D & & E \\ (AR\ sa'i \rightarrow & AW/AR) & \rightarrow & (AW/AR \rightarrow & AW) \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{cccc}
 C & D & E & F \\
 (AR \text{ sa'i} \rightarrow AW/AR) \rightarrow (AW/AR \rightarrow AW) \\
 D & E & F & G \\
 (AR \text{ sa'i} \rightarrow AW/AR) \rightarrow (AW/AR \rightarrow AW)
 \end{array}$$

Finally, if column D is isolated from the representation of a series of marriages, the result represents group D's position relative to the other groups through time and also group D's simultaneous relationship to a number of other groups:

<i>D</i>	
AW	(wife-taker of the wife-taker)
AW/AR	(wife-taker)
AW/AR	(wife-giver)
AR sa'i	(wife-giver of the wife-giver)

This representation of simultaneous relationships with a potentially very large number of other groups illustrates quite clearly the complexity of marriage alliance in Manggarai.

Concordance, Structure, and Variation: 3 Considerations of Alliance in Kédang

Robert H. Barnes

Nous avons dit expressément et répété de
toutes les manières que la vie sociale était
tout entière faite de représentations.

—Émile Durkheim. Préface de la seconde édition,
Les règles de la méthode sociologique

Les hommes concrets ne se *comportent* pas:
ils *agissent* avec une idée en tête.

—Louis Dumont, *Homo hierarchicus*

THE MOST INTRIGUING ASPECT of van Wouden's famous investigation of asymmetric connubium in eastern Indonesia is that he should have undertaken a comparative study for the purpose of discovering a form of order—an order consisting, as he says, in an "essential unity of social organisation, myth, and ritual" (van Wouden, 1968, p. 9).

It was an acute inference which led van Wouden to suppose that this demonstration could be achieved for societies possessing a system of "exclusive cross-cousin marriage"; but the project nevertheless carried with it certain ironies. The primary object of our labors in social anthropology is order. Order however is elusive, as a practical matter difficult to maintain, and, especially in anthropology, commonly baffling for whatever scholarly methods are applied in hopes of revealing it. Though order is our primordial mystery, in the event it is part of a two-sided conundrum, whose obverse is variety; and variety is

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typically about all the comparative method, in particular, ever succeeds in revealing. Truly necessary relations are rare indeed.

Whatever its ambitions, in its results comparativism in social anthropology has generally been astringent, contracting our expectations of finding invariable relations—be they historical, causal, or concomitant—the tenor of its findings preponderantly destructive to systems. The more remarkable, then, was the project undertaken by van Wouden in his dissertation: his hope of showing for a great area of Indonesia that “cosmos and human society are organised in the same way” (van Wouden, 1968, p. 2). Even the rather poor ethnographic record van Wouden had to deal with revealed many and essential differences. The very fact that his study was a comparative one might have been expected to assure that its chief ambition would be frustrated; yet the project was neither impossible in principle nor wholly unsuccessful in its results.

The present essay pursues both aspects of van Wouden's theme: its explicit and thoroughly plausible intent to display structural concordance, and the evident and ironic lack of any apparent necessity which a comparative survey should quickly show for any particular ethnographic arrangement.

Modern studies in eastern Indonesia have been exceedingly slow in appearing, but they have revealed a great deal more variety in social forms than van Wouden observed. Curiously, except for certain studies of Sumba (Onvlee, 1949; Needham, 1957) and quite recently some possible cases on Timor (Hicks, 1973; Clamagirand, 1975a; Traube, 1977), no reports have been directly concerned with any society whose social categories embody a rule of asymmetric prescriptive alliance (or *connubium*). Indeed, until now we have had no general monographic examination of this kind of society in any part of the world and conceived in quite the same terms as van Wouden's project. This deficiency, at least in the case of Indonesia, was doubtless due in the past to the slowness of ethnographers to take any serious interest in working in this area rather than to any infeasibility in the enterprise.

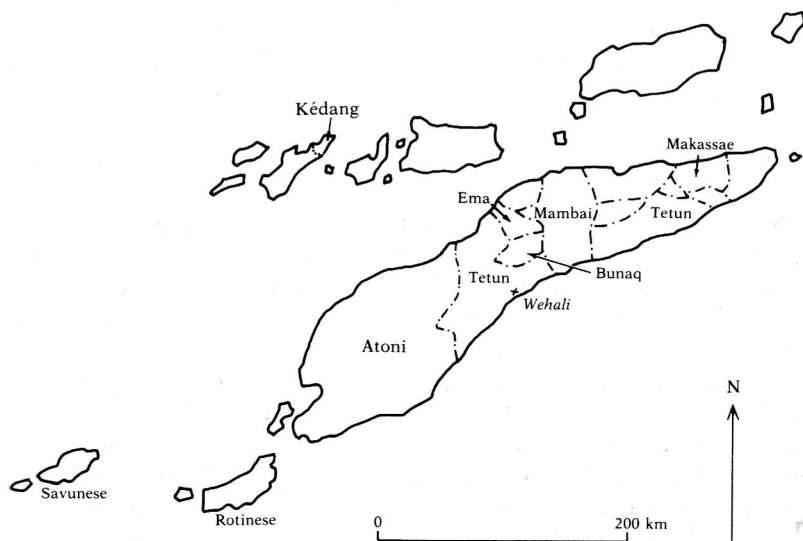
Recent research on the island of Lembata has provided, at last, the opportunity to attempt an analysis based on van Wouden's model with the use of a large and, it may be hoped, sufficient number of facts. Indeed, I have argued that just this sort of concordance between the social order and other areas of classification may be found among the Kédang, a small group on the largely unknown island of Lembata (until recently known as

Lomblen) (Barnes, 1974a). In the last analysis though, Kédang society is not the exact epitome of a society practicing asymmetric alliance, but, quite expectably, only another of many possible variations.

Eastern Indonesia is a rather remote area, its population fractured and distributed among many, often quite small, societies and linguistic groups on a multitude of islands, most of them hardly known at all to the world at large, and many of them quite tiny. Lembata is one of the smallest of these islands; almost nothing has been written about it; and Kédang (the name applied to the area as well as to the people) is regarded as remote and little known even within eastern Indonesia.

Added to this particular obscurity is the fact that the ethnographic literature on the area is written almost entirely in languages other than English—primarily Dutch, Portuguese, German, and, more recently, French. If the area has at all attracted any attention in Great Britain and the United States, it is probably only in connection with the larger islands of Flores, Timor, Sumba, and Alor. Assuming then that they present the most plausible points of orientation for the reader, we may, as a sort of triangulation, begin by locating Kédang at approximately 80 kilometers due east of Flores, 65 kilometers due west of Alor, 130 kilometers northwest of Timor, and about 385 kilometers north-east of Sumba. The people of Kédang number some 25,000, distributed fairly evenly around the Kédang or Ujoléwun Mountain at the eastern tip of Lembata. The language of Kédang is distinct from the dialects of Lamaholot, which are spoken by the rest of the island's population, and it is spoken nowhere outside this restricted region. The Kédang are clearly distinguished from neighboring groups not only by language, but also by features of terrain, by culture, and nowadays by administrative division (Kédang comprises the two *kecamatan*, or subdistricts, of Buyasuri and Omesuri).

Lembata is part of the Solor Archipelago. Of the islands in this chain, Flores is the largest and best known, inhabited by several quite distinct ethnic groups, some of whom have been moderately well described by various ethnographers. At the eastern end of this island are found a group of people who speak the Solor, or Lamaholot, language; members of this group are distributed, as well, over the islands of Adonara, Solor, and Lembata. Very closely related peoples, who speak Bahasa Alor or the



Some peoples of Timor and adjacent islands

Coastal Alorese language (an apparent dialect of Lamaholot) are found also in coastal settlements on the shores of Pantar and Alor (Vatter, 1932, pp. 275–277; Barnes, 1973). The rest of the populations on the latter two islands speak languages that are remote from that of Kédang.

The population of Kédang is linguistically and culturally related most closely to the Lamaholot, as the speakers of that language may be called, and Kédang is the only group not speaking that language on Lembata. Since very similar issues are presented in the study of Lamaholot culture, which nevertheless contrasts with that of Kédang in certain revealing ways, some remarks about this neighboring group should provide a useful preliminary.

The Lamaholot are a disparate collection of groups spread across the four islands of the archipelago, unified only by the fact that they all speak one or another of the several mutually intelligible dialects. Most of these people are simple slash-and-burn agriculturalists, living in mountain villages, but there are striking variations from this subsistence pattern. While the staple crop is generally dry rice or maize, conditions of terrain and accessibility to markets allow economically important variations concerning secondary crops exploited. Some coastal vil-

lages, particularly on Adonara and Solor, depend primarily on trade and the manufacture and sale of various articles such as clothing and simple agricultural tools. A few villages, especially Lamakera, on Solor, and Lamalera, on Lembata, either supplement their agriculture with or live almost exclusively from large-scale fishing (Barnes, 1974b).

Some villages have been in continuous and intermittently intense political and military contact with European powers (Portugal and Holland) since the Dominicans first established themselves in the middle of the sixteenth century on Solor and later at Larantuka on Flores. Other villages were almost completely uninfluenced in this regard until the Dutch set up a thorough system of colonial control in the early 1900s. Islam appeared in the archipelago at least by the time of the introduction of Catholicism in the sixteenth century, and both have replaced the traditional religion in some places in an irregular pattern through the islands. In part, this pattern resulted from events in the ancient struggles among the three colonial powers, Makasar, Portugal (including its uncertain Eurasian allies, the Topasses), and Holland. Makasar withdrew from effective competition in the seventeenth century, and Portugal sold its claims to Holland in 1859. No overall political unity ever existed in this region until the Dutch took over and placed all villages under either the Radja of Larantuka or the Radja of Adonara. Today, east Flores and the other three islands belong to the Kabupaten Flores Timur (the East Flores Regency).

The principal ethnographers for the Lamaholot are Vatter (1932) and the Catholic priest Arndt who has published a grammar and two important books about them (1937, 1940, 1951). Useful as these publications are, none is up to modern professional standards; and the entire ethnographic record provides only exiguous information about essential features of the social organization and culture. Such information as is available offers only scattered coverage on the different parts of the region and therefore cannot be easily compiled into a composite account on any single locale.

Wherever the published record allows any clear determination, descent in Lamaholot is through the male line. Villages are typically made up of exogamous patrilineal clans and named (and sometimes unnamed) lineages; but Arndt (1940) indicates that the rule of exogamy may have lapsed, at least for clans, in some parts of Adonara. In other areas of Adonara, the division

into clans seems to have disappeared entirely, or at least lost its meaning, and its place has been taken by the patripotestal family.

Asymmetric affinal alliance is reported for villages in east Flores (Vatter, 1932, pp. 74–75; Arndt, 1940, p. 75; Ouwehand, 1950, pp. 55–57; Kennedy, n.d., pp. 159–162, 406–408; Barnes, 1968, pp. 79–89; 1972, p. 93). The reports of Arndt and Vatter suggest that it is found as well in most of the other Lamaholot villages; however, Arndt's descriptions of some Adonara hamlets seem to indicate the disappearance of any form of affinal alliance. Furthermore, Arndt's evidence for other Adonara villages could be interpreted, though hardly in any conclusive way, as indicating the presence of symmetric alliance. My own impressions from traveling through the islands is that the asymmetric form is present almost everywhere and that, as has been claimed by previous ethnographers, it is very clearly and systematically exploited in the villages behind the Ili Mandiri in Flores. It would take intensive investigation to prove that it is not present, at least in some form, in all Adonara villages; and I am skeptical, at least for the time being, of the presence of symmetric alliance anywhere on Adonara.¹

The published information on the relationship terminologies of Lamaholot was until recently exceedingly scant and entirely inadequate for any analytic purposes. Nevertheless, Ouwehand (1950, p. 56n) provides certain terminological usages that indicate that the relationship system is based on a distinction between wife-givers and wife-takers. The distinction is consistent with the mode of affinal alliance and would be compatible with an asymmetric prescriptive terminology; but examples of peoples, such as the Endehnese and the Garo (Needham, 1966, 1968a, 1970), and perhaps some of the Tetun (Vroklage, 1952–1953, vol. 1, pp. 418–421), who combine a symmetric terminology with an asymmetric mode of alliance show that we cannot infer from a distinction of this nature exactly what form the terminology has, nor can we be certain that there is a prescription of any kind. While I was in the islands, however, I had the opportunity to collect fairly extensive evidence about the relationship system of Wailolong, east Flores, and terminologies from the other islands, one from Adonara, two from Solor, and five from Lembata (Barnes, 1973, p. 84n9; 1977). All these are prescriptive and ordered by patrilineal descent and a rule of matrilateral marriage.

Although Kédang is linguistically distinct from Lamaholot, it takes its place in the transformations of Lamaholot culture; and it may be useful to review some of the latter. Lamaholot communities have, predominantly, asymmetric prescriptive relationship terminologies, patrilineal clans and (named or unnamed) lineages, and asymmetric affinal alliance.² It has been possible to confirm the intimate connection between Lamaholot and Bahasa Alor (which are more closely related to each other than either is to Kédang), and Needham and I have independently recorded symmetric terminologies from Bahasa Alor (Needham, 1956; Barnes, 1973). In addition, Needham's evidence and my own very clearly, if not conclusively, suggest that there may be within the prescribed category a subsidiary restriction on marriage with patrilineal relatives (for example, for a male a prohibition on marrying the FZD) on Pantar but not on Alor, which introduces an important sociological distinction in this small area.

There is general agreement among ethnographers, on the basis of fairly good evidence, that the obligations and restrictions of asymmetric affinal alliance are very strictly observed in at least some east Flores villages. However, some reports, mostly impressionistic ones, indicate a loosening, or perhaps the disappearance, of the practice on Solor and Adonara. Even though it is not clear what a "loosening" of this custom would mean, we can be fairly certain that the sociological implementation of the rule differs quite a bit in some parts of Lamaholot from the east Flores pattern.

Some of the variations in Lamaholot institutions might be attributable to the decay of former arrangements, but we cannot be certain that there is in fact any question of decay involved until work is done there. We can be sure though that there are quite radical differences in the way the theme of prescriptive alliance has been put into effect; and the information published by Arndt (1940, 1951) would allow us to demonstrate a similar degree of variation in mythical themes, rituals, economic institutions, means of obtaining subsistence, social roles, and, quite importantly here, in political and ceremonial offices. (See Barnes, 1968, 1974a, for a comparative review of these topics.) We cannot yet hope to do much about revealing any necessary conditions underlying this variation. But, if we are aware of this, in part already documented, variety in the immediate vicinity of Kédang, we will perhaps be in that respect better prepared to appreciate the unusual situation in Kédang—which is

one I find very difficult to express in a simple formula—and we may, therefore, approach Kédang with no particular expectations about what will accompany or be implied in their own use of the principle of alliance through marriage.

Kédang contrasts with Lamaholot in being in many respects more homogeneous. There has been, of course, an important influx of Lamaholot settlers since the 1800s, and there are a number of Chinese-Indonesian merchants and groups of Bajo Laut, mostly living currently at Balaurin. A few scattered clans are regarded as having descended from immigrants, but for the most part the indigenous population thinks of itself as deriving from ancestors who always lived in Kédang. Although political unity was first imposed on them by the Dutch, the Kédang have a very clear sense of ethnic identity, which is expressed in mythical genealogies that link the villages regarded as truly autochthonous and in legends that relate the dispersal of the original community from which all these villages derive.

There are some differences in pronunciation and vocabulary in different villages, but these variations are not large enough to result in different dialects. It takes only a two- or three-hour walk over mountain trails to get to the other side of the Kédang Mountain; there are several weekly markets which bring people together from all over Kédang; many people hold fields in quite distant parts of Kédang from their own villages and travel back and forth frequently; it is common for family or marriage ties to exist between even the most remotely placed communities. As a consequence of the continuous social intercourse possible among this still fairly small population, which is compactly distributed around a single mountain, broad features of culture and social organization are the same everywhere.

Before my visit there in 1969–1971, there was virtually no published information about Kédang. I conducted my research primarily in the village of Léuwajang on the north coast, where my wife and I lived during the nearly two years of our stay. This was a very large village, whose population of over 1,000 was distributed over seven hamlets; it offered the particular advantage of a continually running spring reasonably near the mountain hamlet where I wanted to live because there I could best observe what remained of the traditional ceremonial life. I made a number of visits to other parts of Kédang, but less than I would have liked, since transportation was limited to foot and accommodation depended on invitation. My understanding of Kédang is

necessarily very largely restricted to conditions in Léuwajang, and I cannot speak for many features of life in other villages; but there is no question that the central themes of the following analysis hold true for all of Kédang.

Two complementary, and in native theory inseparable, principles underlie Kédang social order: patrilineal descent and matrilineal marriage prescription. The rule of descent governs a segmentary social order of villages and clans. Although clans are named and associated with explicit offices, their segments are neither named nor otherwise marked in any sociologically significant way. Indeed, the absence of named lineages has special consequences for an assessment of the place of marriage alliance in Kédang society.

The marriage prescription is phrased most succinctly in the Kédang language by an injunction to marry a man or woman from the relationship category *mahan*. Although this category has, properly, a very broad application, it includes for a man his genealogical mother's brother's daughter, his wife's sister, his mother's brother's son's daughter, and his wife's brother's daughter. For a woman the category includes her genealogical father's sister's son and her husband's brother. A man is forbidden all other categories of women, including one which may be regarded the structural converse of *mahan*. This category is called *iné utun*, and in it are a man's father's sister's daughter and his sister's daughter.

Within the broad prescription to marry *mahan*, there is a subsidiary preference to marry the *mahan até nimun* (the "true *mahan*") who are the closest members of the category—in particular, for a man his genealogical mother's brother's daughter and for a woman her father's sister's son.

Marriage establishes an alliance between a line of wife-givers (*epu-bapa*) and a line of wife-takers (*maqing-anaq*). The nature of these collectivities and the nature of alliance are problems which must be discussed together and which have a very special answer in Kédang. For the moment, it may be remarked that a marriage establishes or reconfirms a division within the social universe, not just for the man and the woman who marry but for their own close relatives (of whatever kind) as well, and potentially for everyone in the society. This is a question of social classification; any person will put the members of his society into the category of wife-givers, that of wife-takers, or into a category which covers not only members of his own clan, but lines which

stand in the same relation as his own clan does to one of his clan's affinal lines. Any line, then, will be related to one's own as superiors (wife-givers), inferiors (wife-takers), or equals.

A lengthy description and analysis of the relationship terminology has already been published (Barnes, 1974a, pp. 265–281). The details of that account doubtless do not need to be repeated here. It is enough to say that the relationships system is of a familiar asymmetric form and is ordered by the rule of patrilineal descent and the matrilineal marriage prescription. I have also tried to show that, although there are important sociological differences between the roles of men and women and although a woman consequently employs the relationship terms quite differently from a man, the relationship terminology she uses is also systematically ordered by the rule of descent and the marriage prescription.

To this point the description has been fairly conventional. However, Kédang society raises certain very special problems. These relate directly to the main tradition of analytic work in the area of prescriptive alliance, but they cannot be suitably handled without some modification of the ideas which this tradition has produced. In order to introduce these questions, I must set out briefly Kédang conceptions about marriage, alliance, and descent.

Marriage in the first instance is primarily a private concern of the man and the woman. Arranged marriages are not common; and, even though certain parents exercise some power of veto over their children's choices, selection of a mate is usually left to the preference of the new husband and wife. In the traditional culture, there is no marriage ceremony; but marriage can be viewed as a stage-by-stage process—one of whose important moments is the birth of children (especially the second child)—which is finally completed, late in life or even after death of the partners, by the payment of the last obligation in the schedule of bridewealth. Except for a very limited, initial period of residence with the wife's parents, each couple maintains its own separate household; and again the daily affairs of a family are mostly a private concern. But the birth of children adds members to the clan of the father and brings into play obligations to the close male relatives of the mother. Furthermore, every marriage establishes an alliance between a line of wife-givers and one of wife-takers that has enduring, corporate consequences.

In Kédang the alliance relationship is called *nobol-téqa*. This phrase refers to a number of poetic expressions that play on the interlocking and mutually supporting parts in the structure of a building or bamboo platform. The manifold and interlocking obligations entailed by an alliance work themselves out on several levels over an appreciable period of time and they involve a number of people.

First of all, marriage initiates a series of prestations and counterprestations between the *clans* of the two parties (see Barnes, 1974a, pp. 282–294). The individual is not responsible alone for meeting the obligations of bridewealth; in fact, in Léuwajang he is under an absolute injunction that prohibits him from acquitting them by himself. Responsibility lies with the clan as a whole, which both gives and receives bridewealth as a corporate entity. The entire schedule of payments from a given marriage will take many decades to pay or receive. So a clan holds in common outstanding debts and obligations as well as any bridewealth objects currently in its possession.

The latter may not be converted for private use; that is, a man has no right to dispose of objects received in connection with the marriage of a close genealogical relative. Any object which comes to the clan as bridewealth is clan property. On the other hand, when no alternative presents itself, it is possible that individually owned objects of wealth may be converted to clan use. The principal business of the clan lies, in fact, in holding and disposing of bridewealth objects, and this is the area where the corporate nature of the clan is most clearly expressed.

If a newly married young man does not himself have to bear much of the burden of arranging for the bridewealth his marriage requires, he nevertheless takes up responsibilities which are his alone. In Kédang there is no custom of meeting bridewealth obligations through service to the wife's parents, but the couple should live for a brief time in the household of the wife's parents, and the young man is expected to visit them from time to time thereafter and to assist them whenever occasion requires. Such relationships typically begin with marked reserve and respect on the part of the new husband and may eventually be cultivated into ones of mutual friendship and assistance. Sometimes, of course, they work out less fortunately and sour, but wife-givers are neither generally feared nor regarded as exploitative.

A man's marriage will also eventually result in mutual obligations between his children and his wife's relatives. The Kédang

think that a child's well-being rests in the hands of its father's wife-givers. Within the general wife-giving/wife-taking relationship is a more specific relationship between the *epu puén*, or "trunk" *epu*, and the *anaq maqing*. This is in the first instance a relationship between the genealogical mother's brother (*epu*) and the genealogical sister's son. But on the death of the mother's brother, the position will pass on to another of his close agnates. The *epu puén* is regarded as a source of life; in fact, he is sometimes spoken of as though he were the individual manifestation of God for his *anaq maqing* or sister's son. Sociologically, of course, his family provided the mother, and had she not been given, there would have been no children. But the wife-givers also provide blood, which in ceremonial language is assimilated to other forms of life fluid.

It is possible to show that what lies behind the Kédang conception of patrilineal descent is the common tie to some woman. Agnatic ties are based on shared blood originally acquired from another group. Part of the implication of alliance is this transfer of blood, associated with the gift of life and that of physical and spiritual well-being. Marriage with a woman who is both a *mahan* and, at the same time, the daughter's daughter of a woman born into one's own clan is regarded, even though it rarely occurs, as the most highly valued marriage that can be contracted. This kind of marriage is especially desirable because it is thought of as a means of returning blood formerly transferred from the clan by way of marriage.

The *epu* is supposed to support his *anaq maqing*; the former looks after the latter's interests and cares for his health. The *anaq maqing* should continually visit his *epu puén*. If the sister's son falls ill, he must inform his mother's brother of this event. Should the *anaq maqing* die without having done so, then the mother's brother may demand a fine of an elephant tusk or an earring. Similarly, after the birth of a child, the period of seclusion for mother and child may not be brought to an end and the child may not be fed substantial food and bathed until its *epu puén* has been informed. Again, an infraction of this rule results in the payment of an elephant tusk or an earring as a fine.

In most cases of illness, the *anaq maqing* goes to his mother's brother's house for a cure; and a woman having a difficult childbirth returns to her mother's house or to that of her own *epu puén*. If the *anaq maqing* fails to show proper attention and respect to his mother's brother and to meet his obligations, the *epu* may turn his control of his sister's son's well-being into a

curse as punishment; in the course of doing this, he calls on the guardian spirit of the alliance from which the child sprang.

When a man dies, his sister's son has the privilege of claiming some of his coconut palms. When a very prominent man dies, his closest relatives through his mother may demand the payment of an elephant tusk, which is symbolic of the hair or spiritual influence which they have given him in life. During a funeral, representatives from the wife-givers are indispensable and must, in fact, provide part of the paraphernalia used in it. On the other hand certain wife-takers will also be present to assist in various stages in the handling of the corpse.

Marriage alliance provides real links, expressed in a variety of ways. On one level it seems to give the principal content to the corporate structure of the clan. On another level it is concerned with a close genealogical tie between mother's brother and sister's son; although sometimes someone more remote than the mother's brother may fill the role of *e pu puén*. In addition, anyone will be in some degree concerned with the wife-givers of all other members of his own clan. Furthermore, the close relation between a man and his mother's relatives is likely to be passed down for several generations, even if marriages are not continued in subsequent generations.

Peter Rivière has pointed out to me that it is not inevitable that a cultural emphasis on affinal alliance be accompanied by an expectation that such alliances be inherited.³ The people of Kédang, however, expect or at least speak very approvingly of the idea that marriage be repeated in following generations and that alliances, in this way, be inherited. In fact, not only is there a preference (which in practice is rarely observed) for marriage with the mother's brother's daughter; but there is a subsidiary rule that marriage (for a man) must be into the clan of his mother. Failure to observe this rule will involve one's own clan in an obligation to pay a small fine. However, the record shows that these alliances rarely are renewed directly.

Before embarking on an analysis of marriage patterns, we should recall that the name for the alliance relationship is *nobol-téqa*. The very first marriage between two clans is called by a special term (*bunga karé*) turning on the introductory nature of the marriage; and it necessitates an extra payment. Any subsequent marriage between the two clans is called *nobol tuan* ("old nobol," nobol being large studs in the floor of the granary). Such a marriage does not require the extra payment because it is considered to continue the previous alliance (no matter how

far in the past it may have been). This is a question of bridewealth, which in Kédang is always handled by clans; so it is appropriate and in no way misleading to speak here of the "clan."

In other contexts that bear on the significance of alliance for the people of Kédang, however, use of the notion of "clan" or of any other specifically identifiable group would result in quite seriously inhibiting misconceptions. From a terminological point of view, the social world of a person in Kédang is made up of agnates and affines. Affines are of two types, those who give women and those who take women. Ideologically, one does not marry agnatically related women, nor does one marry the female agnates of wife-takers. These rules seem fairly clear until we begin to observe how they are put into practice.

In a village like Léuwajang, most clans are regarded as being, ultimately, agnatically related. All but three clans descend from a common ancestor named Au Telu. However, marriage is possible between all of the clans. In Kédang there happens to be a strict coincidence between the boundary of the named clan and limits of the rule of exogamy. In effect, a person does not marry agnates within his own clan; but for purposes of marriage, agnatic ties outside the clan are generally disregarded.⁴ Although it is possible for certain persons outside the clan to be regarded as agnates in some contexts and affines in others, this fact causes no analytic confusions. An individual may not have affines within his own clan, and agnates outside his clan may be properly converted to affines.

The distinction between the two types of affine, however, is much less easily maintained. In a statement that I made earlier—"marriage establishes an alliance between a line of wife-givers and a line of wife-takers"—the word "line" requires consideration. I have said elsewhere (1974a, p. 242) that marriage establishes an alliance relationship between the clans of the two spouses. This is literally correct, but still not the whole story. If this were all there were to the matter, then the clans within a village could easily be discriminated according to whether they were wife-givers or wife-takers to an individual's clan. As a matter of fact, any given clan is likely to be simultaneously wife-giver and wife-taker. This fact appears to contradict the matrilinear nature of the marriage prescription, which, of course, prohibits a man from taking a wife from his own wife-takers.

The word normally used in Kédang for the clan is *suku*; and it

is applied indiscriminately to any structural level below the village: that is, to the named clan, to any of its segments, and to families. When a person in Kédang uses the word "suku" in speaking of marriage alliance, the term he employs says nothing about the structural level he intends. We should then be cautious in assuming that we know precisely what level is meant. Indeed, the very imprecision of the word may be just the clue that leads to a proper understanding of Kédang institutions.

At this point, Dumont's often repeated warning against substituting substance for relations may supply the required guidance. It should be clear that the people of Kédang live their lives in the realm of relations. We might possibly expect that, given the rules and customs of their society, the clan itself is the alliance group. However, it seems rather that the relationship which derives from marriage is more important to them than the nature of the groups involved and that the structural nature of the line in question depends on the context in which the relationship of alliance is called into play.

I have witnessed a number of sessions in which bridewealth matters were discussed or bridewealth was exchanged. From what I have seen on these occasions, I think it is safe to speak of clans as alliance groups when there is a question of the exchange of bridewealth. It is in such a context that the people of Kédang do so. If the marriage is between persons of two different villages, of course, then the villages, not the clans, are the alliance groups. But there are other situations where the clans are obviously not correctly regarded as alliance groups.

We must consider here the implications which result from the fact that in the aggregate of any two clans of a village typically both give women to and receive women from each other. In any ceremonial context, such as the exchange of bridewealth, steps are carefully taken in Kédang to ensure that any particular transaction maintains the proper asymmetric character. But what effect does the established record of reciprocal exchange of women have on marriage choice? When he selects a partner, a man does not usually give much consideration to the cumulative marriages of his clan. His primary concern is that his wife not be taken from a prohibited category. If in the past all marriages between two given clans have been properly unilateral, any marriage reversing this direction would be categorically improper. Such marriages do occasionally occur though; and after the first one, subsequent marriages in the same direction are not incorrect, unless there is too close a genealogi-

cal connection of the prohibited sort (that is, for a man, with a woman who unavoidably must be regarded *iné utun*).

For purposes of the categorical prescription, a man resorts to the potential inherent in the segmentary nature of the system of descent. Women of a clan which has once given a woman to his own are *mahan* and therefore are marriageable, unless they are very directly related through his father's sister or his sister, or a close relative of a similar type. I have never heard any specific degree of relation mentioned as a standard limit, and I think in the nature of things none could be set. Each case is weighed and determined in its own terms. One of the indications of an improper marriage is the unfortunate consequences that result from it, but this is not a genealogical matter at all.

The situation in Kédang is in some respects comparable to that of the Nangudi Vellalar, about whom Dumont says, "The unit which appears as one in terms of exogamy is split in terms of intermarriage" (1957, p. 16). Nearby, there is also the example of Sumba where named segments at structural levels lower than the clan serve as alliance groups (Needham, 1957). But in Kédang it is not possible, as it is elsewhere, to shift the focus of analysis and thereby rediscover the proper pattern of alliance, however fragmentary it may be, in connection with lower-order corporate associations. The accompanying examples may help to show that the ambition of identifying groups linked unilaterally in marriage cannot be satisfied by referring to the segments of clans.

Figure 3.1 illustrates an alliance between two families that has continued for three generations through marriage with the genealogical mother's brother's daughter. If this example were typical, or if similar examples were frequently found in Kédang, there would be hope of uncovering some reasonably reliable pattern of inherited alliances. It might also be possible to identify lineage segments as *de facto* alliance groups.

The genealogical record from Léuwajang, however, contains only three cases of repeated marriages of even this depth. In fact, only 3.6 percent of all marriages in this record are with the genealogical mother's brother's daughter. This low figure might not be of decisive importance though, if many marriages were with segments closely related to that of the mother's brother. But even this is not common: only 17 percent of marriages satisfy the native injunction (sanctioned by a fine) to take a woman from the mother's clan.⁵ Even this figure could be misleadingly low if, as happens in other societies, the requirement were met

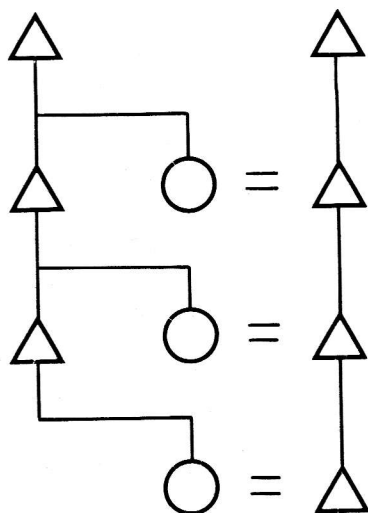


Figure 3.1. Repeated marriage between two descent lines

by having only one marriage from among those contracted by a set of brothers be with a relative of the appropriate kind. The facts from Kédang could be reinterpreted along these lines; although it is important to realize that Kédang customs do not permit this particular manipulation. In any case, only 27 percent of marriages would satisfy this reinterpreted rule.

Lineages are not named in Kédang, nor are they otherwise marked in any sociologically significant way. If they were they might very well provide a needed aid to analysis. But since there are no corporate matters except those handled by the clan and since the internal structure of the clan is not differentiated in native practice, there is no way to distinguish its structural components and no apparent use in attempting to do so. Another approach is to turn to small-order segments, such as Leach's local descent groups (1961a, pp. 56–57). However, the males of the three generations he refers to as typically concerned in a given marriage are not usually coresident in Kédang and do not usually exercise collective influence on the selection of the wife. In any case, no order is to be found at this level. The situation figure 3.2 represents is typical in Kédang.

Since arranged marriages are not frequent, most young people take full advantage of the considerable real latitude for individual choice inherent in a categorical prescription. Preference for marriage with the mother's brother's daughter is almost solely ideological. Although I have often enough heard a

There is no trace of a fixed procedure for transferring women unilaterally among groups marked by name or other means. What Dumont says of the Pramalai Kallar applies to the Kédang as well: insofar as affinal alliance is concerned, "the system does not exist as a whole" (1957, p. 22). With the exception of bridewealth, the various aspects of alliance work themselves out below the level of the clan, but below the clan level the system loses itself in a mass of particular arrangements. Dumont speaks of a network among the Kallar "focused on as many centers as there are lines of two or three generations" (1957, p. 22). This characterization seems to imply some degree of practical stability in the relations between lines, even though a global system does not result. When such stability appears in Kédang, which happens very rarely, it is sociologically significant and has meaning for the people in terms of the ideology of alliance. It is usually not present though, and when it will appear cannot be predicted.

○ =
Hiang Leraq

○ =
Taran Piraq

○ =
Amun Toda

○ =
Nola Wala

○ =
Apé Tatu

○ =
Ata Rodang

○ =
Amun Toda

○ =
Apé Utun

○ =
Ata Rodang

○ =
Apé Labi

○ =
Amun Toda

Figure 3.2. Marriages within a small-order descent line. The assortment of clans from which the women come indicates the small extent to which system can be discerned.

sented in important activities as alliance groups. Nor can the situation be expressed by saying, as has been suggested to me, that the Kédang system of asymmetric alliance operates without the use of social groupings. Corporate descent groups of course are present, and they are corporately involved in some aspects of alliance.

Whatever difficulty may be felt to reside in this circumstance may result from expecting some unitary meaning for the terms "alliance" and "alliance group." There is, apparently, no reason to suppose that the idea of an alliance group must have only a single kind of application in the analysis of a particular culture, and, furthermore, no reason to suppose that if the term has use in one context in a given culture, it will necessarily also be useful in other contexts. If, as Leach has prominently argued, marriage is "a bundle of rights" (1961a, p. 105), then presumably alliance is this too. Its various aspects pertain to different contexts and to different kinds of collectivities. In Kédang only one of these aspects involves a conventionally delimited corporation. As a way of linking collectivities, the ideology of alliance, with the definition given it in Kédang, is put into effect at lower levels, but there is little more that can be said about these collectivities other than that they are agnatic lines of varying extent. No overall pattern is to be discerned in the affinal alliances linking these lines; and in this way Kédang contrasts with other prescriptive societies.

An analysis of the way Kédang marriages conform to their categorical prescription leads to quite different results. Here again a simple formula cannot be found for expressing all the contingencies in considering Kédang marriage choices and the rules that are supposed to govern them.

Any person in Kédang, if asked, will claim to have married his mahan. There are, of course, some cases which flagrantly violate the marriage rules and are recognized as violations, but these lead to one or another kind of readjustment. In a recent case, which involved a breach of the rule of exogamy, for example, the guilty couple refused to separate; so they were driven from Kédang by members of their clan. In other marriages where there was a direct exchange between genealogically close members of different clans, the breach of rules resulted in the levying of traditionally prescribed fines and eventually in a ceremonially effected readjustment of the relationship between the married couple.

These examples already show some occasional disparity

between what people say they do and what they actually do. The anthropologist wants to find some sensible way of estimating the nature and degree of this disparity. The first step, of course, is to record and inspect genealogies. During my stay, I had the opportunity to complete a register of the genealogies of the inhabitants of Léuwajang (a village of 1,060 persons). This exhaustive record goes back nine to ten generations from current adults. It extends therefore well beyond the introduction of any major outside influence; inspection of it indicates no reason to think that any important change in conformity to the marriage prescription occurred during that period.

These genealogies contain a total of 938 marriages, of which 419 are between men and women of Léuwajang. There are an additional 324 marriages outside the village by men of Léuwajang, and 195 marriages outside by women. The lower number for women results from the tendency to forget, after several generations, women who have left the village.

At this point a factor enters about which anthropologists might disagree. Of the total 938 marriages, it is possible in some 594 cases to trace, with reasonable accuracy, the relationship between the spouses prior to marriage. In 187, or 31 percent, of these, men apparently married women with whom they had no immediate relationship at all. Are these marriages to be interpreted as deviating from the prescription or as conforming to it?

As far as the categorical question is concerned, all that is necessary in Kédang to establish a prior relationship is for some previous marriage to have occurred between members of the two clans of the new spouses. No question of genealogical degree is relevant here. The latter type of marriages, then, established for the first time relations between the clans involved, and most of them were with clans in different villages, some of them outside Kédang. The answer to the question, then, is that these 187 marriages are not regarded as deviant in Kédang. In fact, the newly acquired relatives immediately fall into the appropriate categories of the relationship terminology; they cannot in any way be construed as violating the categorical prescription. And, to keep as close to Kédang ideas as possible, they should be counted as corresponding to the marriage prescription.

Of the 594 marriages for which the original relationship can be traced, 343 marriages, or 58 percent, are with women who are related to the man only as mahan. On the other hand, 42 women, or 7 percent, appear to be iné utun, a prohibited relationship. In both cases, the genealogical tie is typically, but not

always, quite distant. Often, however, a woman falls into both categories, because the relationship can be traced in more than one way.

In addition, there are 22 marriages in which the closest apparent tie would put the woman in a prohibited relation but in which a more distant tie would allow her to be regarded as *mahan*. If these marriages are added to the 42, then 11 percent of the 594 marriages appear to be incorrect. This seems to be an area in which the question of manipulation (conscious or unconscious) touches on the matter of conformity to prescription. Given two possible ways of tracing the relationship, the people of Kédang are likely to place greater weight on the side that would conform to the prescription, unless the tie on the other side is so close that it is absolutely blatant. In other words, the 42 marriages are likely to be considered incorrect in Kédang and the questionable 22 correct. Thus some 64 percent of marriages are with women previously related as *mahan*, 11 percent with women who were *iné utun*; and the discrepancy that results from the overlapping cases in these two figures may be accounted for by reducing the correct cases to 58 percent or the incorrect to 7 percent.

At this point, 58 percent may indeed seem to indicate a fairly great degree of conformity to a positive marriage rule, but still not quite what could be expected from a prescription. Needham (1973a, pp. 171–172) has noted that we are faced with the difficulty, when trying to determine degree of conformity to a prescription, of deciding what is to count as a significantly high proportion. Some anthropologists prefer to reserve the term “prescription” to cases where marriage into the appropriate category approaches 100 percent. But what does “approaching 100 percent” mean?

Inevitably, anthropologists who regard prescriptive alliance as a positivistic error are bound to hit on the above figure and decide that it is the true index of conformity in Kédang. But it must be pointed out that they would do so only at the cost of severely misrepresenting Kédang ideas about Kédang society. And it is only those ideas that have any real importance. The correct proportion is clearly neither 58 percent nor 64 percent, for these figures do not reflect the 187 marriages that initiated entirely new relationships.

Two possibilities present themselves. On the one hand, these marriages could be regarded as special and thus as extraneous to the question at hand. This would allow a computation of per-

centages in terms of only the 407 cases in which a previous relationship existed. Depending, again, on how the questionable 22 marriages are counted, 87–90 percent of the marriages would be into the prescribed category, and 10–13 percent into a prohibited category. Alternatively—and perhaps the better way to proceed—the 187 marriages could be assimilated into the positive side, and percentages could be computed in terms of the original 594. This would yield 89–93 percent correct marriages and 7–11 percent incorrect.

These methods provide quite a range: one that runs from a universal Kédang claim to conformity to Kédang ideas governing marriages, through an analyst's claim of about 90 percent conformity when marriages are assessed through the genealogical record, to an analyst's claim of around 60 percent conformity for marriages that take up again some previous tie between wife-givers and wife-takers. These figures do show that, with a few exceptions, the people of Kédang are fastidious in avoiding marriage with women of prohibited categories. Moreover, genealogical connection seems to have little practical significance in the choice of marriage partner. Even though there is an expressed preference for marriage with a mother's brother's daughter and a penalty is levied when a man does not marry a woman from his mother's clan, only about 3.6 percent of marriages in the record are with the genealogical mother's brother's daughter. In all this, the one factor that outsiders are most likely to underestimate is that everyone claims to have married *mahan*. Terminologically, a person cannot do otherwise. But it is not just anthropologists who may think that some marriages do not completely fit Kédang rules. The people of Kédang themselves sometimes do so. However, the rules consist in a categorical prescription and various contingent requirements and preferences. Each of these must be examined in its own right. Furthermore, there are patent differences among various cultures with prescriptive systems in what the people themselves regard as compliance with the categorical injunction.

It is best then to set out the alternative ways of considering conformity. Internal comprehension of the workings of the society will be enhanced; and comparison, which can be carried on through a broader scale of factors, will be facilitated. Societies of a similar kind can then be more easily set against each other.

Again, a question that appears to relate to a unitary matter

requires an answer that depends on discriminating contexts. This does not mean, though, that one way of viewing Kédang marriage is as good as another. The comprehensive genealogies from Kédang display no overall pattern of set affinal ties among distinguishable groups; yet the same record reveals a high degree of conformity to the prescribed category for marriage.

Kédang presents a situation which if compared to previous examples of prescriptive alliance is in important ways unique; and part of this unusual situation is the unsure guide provided by the idea of alliance groups.

It may be said of alliance in Kédang that it is a relation between two types of affine, initiated by marriage, signaled by the mutual exchange of goods and services (most of which are prescribed and oriented), and couched in a mystical vernacular, and that it calls into play different types of collectivity, depending on context. The relationship is transmitted laterally and through time but, again, at various levels and in various ways. Since its transmission through time implies that it is passed down through agnates, its particular expression in Kédang is closely related to the mode of descent. The meaning of descent, however, is inseparable from the meaning of alliance, since the blood which marks the common tie of descent derives through alliance with affines and since each marriage marks a possible point of subsequent fission of the segmentary group. Since alliance means a number of different things which come into play in various contexts, it is not surprising that the notion of alliance group cannot be given a fixed definition.

Two facts of Kédang life which are probably intimately connected with each other may be related to this situation. The first is that alliance in Kédang currently does not have any political content, and the second is that clans are not in any significant way political or landholding institutions.⁶ It can be argued that in a society in which descent groups are political corporations competing among themselves for scarce valuables, the alliance system itself would be exploited for political ends. Possibly, under these conditions, attention would be given to the renewal of alliances through arranged and repeated marriages; and this might have the consequence that a more definite pattern of affinal alliance would appear and the internal structure of the descent groups might then become more clearly marked. An emphasis on property or the political nature of alliance does not, of course, guarantee the existence of corporate descent groups; and

I am not convinced that no impulse other than political or economic concerns would produce such results. But there is a certain plausibility in thinking there is some kind of connection, and the idea should be easy to examine on comparable material.

It might be supposed that the current state of Kédang society results from changes brought about in recent times by external influences. Possibly, in previous centuries when warfare still existed, alliances between descent groups also implied mutual reliance for purposes of defense. There is almost no historical information about Kédang and thus no way to evaluate this suggestion. The only relevant information about past practices is to be found in the genealogical record, but it gives no indication that affinal alliance bound groups more directly in previous centuries. In other words, the evidence, however exiguous it may be, suggests that marriages in the past were contracted in much the same way as they are now. There is no reason to suppose that present circumstances are the result of the disintegration of a formerly more systematic pattern of affinal alliance, nor is there any particular reason to suppose that there will be any drastic alteration in these matters in the near future.

Another look at previous work on prescriptive alliance reveals that Kédang seems to represent one natural variety of this cultural theme. An important development in the study of symmetric systems was the discovery that they did not require corporate descent groups of any kind, as the Sinhalese of Ceylon and the Trio of Surinam, which lack them, demonstrate (Leach, 1961b; Yalman, 1962; Tambiah, 1965; Rivière, 1969). It has also been pointed out that such groups are not necessary to asymmetric systems (Needham, 1964, p. 237), and one possible case of an asymmetric system without such groups, the Sirionó of Bolivia, has been suggested (Needham, 1961b, pp. 248–249). Finally, Dumont's (1966b, 1968, 1970) efforts to account for Australian systems in terms other than corporate descent should be included in this list. Presumably, it is not useful to speak of alliance groups in these cases, but as far as I know, no one has suggested that there may be any difficulty in applying the idea to a society that, like Kédang, does have corporate groups. A good deal of progress has been accomplished in distinguishing alliance groups from exogamous corporations. This development is part of the effort that has been made to free the notion of alliance from substantialist preconceptions. If anthropologists have thus made the idea of alliance more abstract, then they must similarly adjust their comprehension of the variety of collectivities which may be linked by this particular kind of tie.

Everywhere in the immediate vicinity of Kédang are communities whose social categories are based on some kind of prescriptive alliance, usually asymmetric but on Pantar and Alor symmetric. Within this area there is great variation in the working out of affinal ties. It is possible that in east Flores named lineages are linked in a strict pattern of perpetual matrilineal alliances. Elsewhere, the evidence shows a range that extends through the special situation in Kédang to an arrangement like that in parts of Adonara where there may not even be corporate groups. All this bears on the hypothetical scale of the development of prescriptive alliance that Needham (1967, pp. 45-46) has drawn up. I am not convinced that his argument is free from all criticism, but it is clear that future work in this region will provide an ideal opportunity for testing the hypothesis. In any case the information already available is adequate to indicate something of the institutional variety that may accompany a marriage prescription.

The only constant feature in Kédang marriage is a relationship of a particular type, and it is this relationship that facilitates the comparison of Kédang with other societies. In this way, the culture of Kédang is close to what van Wouden argued to be generally true of eastern Indonesian civilization. For him, exclusive cross-cousin marriage, by which he meant in fact a matrilineal prescription, was the starting point and the essential basis or common ground amid the multiplicity of cultural influences. It was the pivot on which turned the activities of the social groups; the accompanying scheme of social categories served as the model of an all-embracing classification by which cosmos and human society were organized. These views reflect the inspiration of Durkheim and Mauss's study of primitive classification, and they retain the same unwarranted assumption of the primacy of the social order. Nevertheless, van Wouden's thesis—that there is some correspondence between the marriage form and other features of culture—is extensively, if incompletely, documented in his book.

I have attempted a similar demonstration in a book on Kédang (Barnes, 1974a). It cannot be summarized here; but some brief considerations of the nature of concordance seem to be warranted. The discussion of the Lamaholot earlier in this chapter has already demonstrated that a shared emphasis on matrilineal prescription guarantees no uniformity in its application even among neighboring peoples. Since this is the case,

then what uniformities in accompanying symbolism are to be expected?

Needham (1958, 1962, 1972, 1973b) has shown that concordance in a society of this type may be found in a mode of classification based on a pervasive dualism: "It is through this mode of relation that the social order concords with the symbolic order" (1962, p. 96). But the distinction between social and symbolic orders is an expository convenience. In fact, in a society of this kind there is actually a single classification that orders both social life and cosmos. For the Kédang, as for the Purum, "social organization is ideologically part of a cosmological conceptual order and is governed identically by its ruling ideas" (Needham, 1962, p. 96).

It is this feature—that there is a single scheme of classification which subsumes both orders—that is usual in prescriptive societies and that typically distinguishes them from societies without marriage prescription (Needham, 1973c, p. 111). In the latter there may be a degree of correspondence but not to the same extent.

Needham has presented the complementary pairs that demonstrate this correspondence in two-column tables, "listed seriatim as they [were] elicited in the exposition of the relevant facts" (1962, p. 95). However, that a given term is placed in one of the columns does not imply that it shares the properties of all of the other terms in that column. The association of the terms derives from a mode of categorization (complementary opposition), "not from the possession of a specific property by means of which the character or presence of other terms may be deduced" (Needham, 1973c, p. 117).

Certain groups of pairs in a given culture may be analogically associated, but they do not necessarily include all pairs found in that culture. Furthermore, the associations of some terms may change with context. In Kédang, for example, "full moon" and "interior" are regarded as superior, whereas "female" is inferior; but women are associated with the "interior" and with the "full moon." Nothing is common, then, to all the binary distinctions in a comprehensive table other than a mode of relation: opposition. The elements may be drawn from all aspects of life, but concordance simply means that a similar mode of dual classification is applied everywhere.

Concordance in this sense is obviously and importantly present in Kédang. However, I have tried to reveal a kind of structural concordance that is different from complementary opposi-

tion. The central issue is that categorical prescription can be shown to exist also in realms of life other than marriage.

Buildings, for example, must be oriented quite specifically in their construction. Vertical pieces must maintain the orientation of their growth: their tops must be above and their bases must be below. Horizontal pieces must lie with their tips to the right, so that there is a counterclockwise "motion" around the rectangle of the building. This procedure is expressed in the injunction *wana pan* ("to travel to the right"). This prescription is directly related to the rule that all things must be given and received with the right hand, and it is also related to the ceremonial importance of the right house post and to the symbolic right side of the village. In fact, I have also found that the rule of *wana pan* permits a systematic ordering of a series of ideas and practices associated with life and death (Barnes, 1974a, pp. 203-209).

These Kédang collective representations are cyclic: they are oriented in a specific way, the direction of motion may not be reversed, and this motion eventually returns upon itself. The same features seem to appear elsewhere too, for instance, in representations of time and, of course, in ideas about marriage alliance (Barnes, 1974a).

Another aspect of the construction of buildings has similar far-reaching analogies. The roof must have an uneven number of parts on each side. If they were even (in Kédang idiom, "complete"), the owners of the building, the Kédang say, would be subject to various kinds of disaster. In certain contexts, odd numbers are spoken of as the numbers of life and even numbers as the numbers of death. But a general survey of Kédang culture demonstrates that even numbers are actually associated with transition (corners, births, deaths), while odd numbers are associated with the structure of whatever lies between points of transition (sections of the roof, life, levels of the universe, composition of the soul). This opposition between segment and point of transition, between component and articulation, is the most pervasive feature of Kédang thought and language. It can be found in their representations of all forms of being, substantial as well as conceptual.

Another pervasive and connected aspect of their representations of being is the notion that spiritual influence or life force constantly flows through anything with conceptual structure. Here again context is essential. A human being is an articulated system through which life or spirit moves in various ways; at

the same time, men are themselves a form of life that flows (that is, moves or cycles) through a sequence of worlds that make up the universe.

Structural correspondence lies not only in a universally employed mode of classification but also in a particular kind of relation, which seems to be part of all Kédang conceptions of being.⁷ Furthermore, the tendency to form developed representations based on cycles can be found everywhere. The evidence for these cycles is, admittedly, different in different areas. In some cases they are quite conscious and tangibly demonstrable. In other cases they are unknown to the people of Kédang and require reasoned interpretation of various kinds of evidence. Sometimes there are also alternative native theories, which to some degree run counter to those in which the general concordance is found. Even so, analysis does reveal a pervasive underlying unity in Kédang collective representations, and the nature of the social order allows us to reveal a complete series of correspondences in a way which is not possible in other societies.

Structural concordance, then, is found in formal features of the total system of categories, but the social action governed by these categories often shows considerable latitude. Categorical prescriptions governing marriage or the construction of houses are usually nearly absolutely followed, but some subsidiary rules, such as those requiring marriage into mother's clan or the use of a certain kind of palm wine in ceremonies, are typically breached. And in some areas of the culture divergent ideas may even be found. In short, an actual form of structural unity may be displayed, but this unity does not preclude considerable variation in Kédang institutions and practices.

Other questions follow: What kind of necessity, if any, does this concordance rest on? Do societies which have a matrilineal marriage prescription also have cyclic representations of time and prescribed rules for the construction of buildings? Can all the principal elements of Kédang culture be demonstrated again in other eastern Indonesian societies that have the same kind of social organization? If the general Durkheimian recommendation to abandon preconceptions and expect nothing in advance is kept in mind, it can be remarked that all these elements are common eastern Indonesian themes and that overall they show quite the same extraordinary degree of variation from culture to culture as do the principles of descent and alliance.

Not only is it not the case that the whole set of Kédang themes is reproduced in every other society of the region, but common themes typically reappear in quite altered forms. This variation can be shown by simple comparison of the Kédang with the Lamaholot. If related groups with symmetric systems on Pantar and Alor are disregarded, the Lamaholot everywhere seem to have a social classification that is identical with that of Kédang. There is much less resemblance, though, in rules governing the construction of buildings. In east Flores, where the categorical marriage prescription is expressed as a rule to take from the right, the right house post has symbolic significance similar to that in Kédang; there is a contrast between even- and odd-numbered parts of the building (though with a slight difference in application); and horizontal pieces must lie counterclockwise around the structure. Among Lamaholot groups on Lembata, the latter feature can also be found, but not in the same clear form. In Lewuka, for example, horizontal parts must lie in the same direction around the building, but the direction itself is not prescribed; and in Lerek the rule is applied only to fences.

A related aspect of the rule, namely the regulation that vertical parts must retain their original orientation of growth, is present everywhere. But this is a very general Indonesian theme and is found in areas where there is no correlation with the social order. In other words, structural concordance must be demonstrated for each group separately, and even in a total system, like that of Kédang, the nature of the correspondences is likely to be different in many ways.

These conclusions, after all, fit perfectly well with previous work on prescriptive alliance. Although they are more general in reference, they reflect an approach decisively begun by Dumont in his demonstration (1957) of the variety of social institutions that can accompany a particular form of social classification in south India, and continued by Needham in his investigation of terminology and alliance, where he concludes that "the type of relationship terminology is not necessarily correlated with any type of social grouping" (1966, p. 142).

The attempt to take a comparative view of the social institutions and structural concordances which accompany the categorical prescription in Kédang has consistently led away from the idea of necessity. Perhaps this is to be expected if it is true, as Evans-Pritchard has stated, that "any claim to universality demands in the nature of things a historical or psychological,

rather than a sociological, explanation" and that the proper sociological purpose "is to explain differences rather than similarities" (1965, p. 25).

One of the fortunate aspects of the new interest in eastern Indonesia is that presumably controlled comparison will eventually be easier. I hope that this comparison can some day be total. Work of this sort may reveal necessary relations of one type or another, but I doubt that this will be the usual consequence. Rather I expect that few limiting factors other than a general tendency to order collective representations by complementary opposition and a common cultural ancestry will be found and that it will be the lack of necessity for particular cultural arrangements that will become most apparent.

Obligation and Alliance: 4 State Structure and Moiety Organization in Thie, Roti

James J. Fox

THIS PAPER IS A DIRECT RESPONSE to the work of F. A. E. van Wouden, who devoted a substantial portion of his original dissertation to an analysis of the social structure of the island of Roti. Approximately a tenth of this study, *Types of Social Structure in Eastern Indonesia*, is specifically concerned with the organization of Rotinese society. Relying primarily on fragmentary reports by the missionary educator van de Wetering (1922, 1925) and the government officer van der Kam (1934, 1935), van Wouden accurately noted the following features about Roti: that the island is divided into 18 domains, or *nusak*; that these *nusak* are further divided into *leo* which van Wouden designated as "patrilineal clans"; that native functionaries in the separate *nusak* appear to share a similar system of titles; that despite this similarity of titles, the clan structure of the different *nusak* and the arrangement of titles among these clans seem to vary enormously; that certain *nusak*—particularly that of Thie whose clans are organized by moieties—give evidence of connubial relations based on some form of obligatory marriage; and that a combination of dualism and tripartition—a symbolic interplay of symmetry and asymmetry—is strikingly manifest at all levels of social organization throughout the island. All of these

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features of Rotinese society would seem to offer superlative materials for analysis within van Wouden's thesis. Yet, despite the specific attention that he gave to a consideration of Roti, his conclusions about this society were hesitant and, indeed, almost perfunctory. Roti is conspicuous for the relative lack of support that it lends to his general argument.

The major difficulty that van Wouden faced is evident. Although he did not make the best use of available source material and relied on reports that were confusing and, at times, contradictory, van Wouden faced the persistent problem of reconciling apparent similarities in certain aspects of Rotinese social structure with equally apparent diversity in others. At one point in his dissertation (1968, pp. 65–67), he could do no more than list reported differences in a number of separate domains. Confronted by this considerable variation, van Wouden could discern no general structural pattern and therefore could only speculate on a variety of plausible structures. His valuable perceptions and insights into Rotinese society did not lead to any resolution of the questions he posed.

This paper is intended to address some of these unresolved questions. My main concern will be with the analysis of the structure of the Rotinese nusak and with the role of marriage in the social and symbolic integration of this traditional state. I propose to provide historical background on the Rotinese title system; outline the basic oppositions that underlie these titles; examine their use in relation to the diversity of clans and lineages within the domains of the island; and, then, focus on marriage as the means of alliance and stratification among title-holding clans. For a proper understanding, it is necessary to consider a nusak as a historical entity whose ideology forms an integral part of its political formation. For this reason, I intend to concentrate on a detailed examination of the nusak of Thie—the domain that most interested van Wouden. As a specific representation of a Rotinese state, Thie offers a special case for the consideration of notions of obligation and alliance.

Time and Variation

The Rotinese are a people who live with a sense of time. This cultural fact is of significance because there is a marked tendency among them to locate the foundation and formation of their institutions, especially those of the state, by reference to particular points in an extended genealogical time. Each domain has its own reference genealogy which is of immense

depth. Thus the institutions of a domain, its titles and traditions, and the significant relations among its clans are ordered and accounted for in relation to specific past events. Distinct sequences of genealogical time are used almost as if to deny the possibility of any common structural pattern to the institutions of the various domains, since each domain is considered to have been formed by a separate succession of events.

This reliance on a particular time perspective is coupled with an insistence on diversity. A conscious pursuit of social distinctions, often based on the exaggeration of trivial differences and minor peculiarities, has had its effect in producing a wide range of variation among the domains of the island. In speech, dress, and local traditions, members of different domains can be clearly distinguished from one another. Yet nowhere is there any abrupt discontinuity or radical disjuncture in the culture of the island. There is only a "continuous variation along a multitude of inequivalent scales" (Fox, 1974, p. 70).

A number of reasons can be offered to account for this social and cultural variation. There are discernible ecological differences on the island and evident variations in the local economies (Fox, 1977a). Differences in dialect also indicate a long, and by no means wholly conscious, process of separation and differentiation. Furthermore, since the seventeenth century, differences among the domains have been fostered for political reasons. By preventing the supremacy of any single state and by a policy of recognizing numerous petty rulers, the Dutch created

A Rotinese woman emerging from the bride's house immediately after the wedding ceremony. She holds a cloth in one hand and a betel—*areca* nut basket in the other and leads the procession that conducts the bride from her house to her husband's house. In the traditional marriage rituals of Thie, the groom's official party is composed of six women and seven men who walk to the bride's house in single file and in silence. The last woman in this party carries a basket filled with *areca* nuts and wrapped in ceremonial cloth. Inside the house, the bride's party provides a coconut which is cut in half as part of the ritual. The wedding ceremony invokes both coconut and *areca* nut:

This is the Moon's coconut and the Sun's *areca* nut
That gives birth to nine and brings forth eight
Coconut shoots and *areca* nut sprouts.
Therefore go plant and sow them
That they may give birth to and bring forth
Your good fortune and happiness.

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the conditions by which each domain, in justification of its autonomy, attempted to distinguish itself from its neighbors.

An appreciation of variation and of the social use of history as a means of differentiation is critical to an understanding of Rotinese society. Fortunately Roti has one of the few societies in eastern Indonesia on which there happens to be a wealth of archival materials. It is possible to construct from Dutch sources an independent history of the island covering the past three hundred years and, thereby, assess certain Rotinese assertions about their past. In this paper, I intend to rely on both Dutch and Rotinese perspectives. An essential point, from the outset, is to contrast an historical perception of society with van Wouden's mode of analysis, which, despite its claims, was essentially ahistoric. Valid criticism of van Wouden's work must center not just on the rigidity of his principal model and the contradictions that this model engenders but also on the pervasive ahistoric formalism of his specific analyses. In his dissertation, van Wouden seems to have viewed all social change as the breakdown of an ancient Indonesian society and all variation as deviation from a former ideal order. His concern with the structural properties of the societies of eastern Indonesia was intended primarily to substantiate a single, formal typological model of marriage and alliance.

If, however, the structuralism of which van Wouden was one of the founders is to continue to develop, it must enlarge its horizons in the recognition of variation and in the integration of history. And if, in the process of development, this structuralism ceases to bear any close resemblance to its earlier antecedents, it becomes all the more important to affirm, on opportune occasions such as this, these prior foundations.

Titles on Roti

Van Wouden encountered his greatest difficulties in interpreting the system of titles on Roti. To his credit, he clearly recog-

The bridal procession. Two young men carry the bride to her husband's house. She must continue to weep, as she has done all the night before, to show her sorrow on leaving her parents. This gesture is a ritual requirement. As soon as the bride reaches her new house, she is escorted inside, changes her dress, puts on gold jewelry, and comes out to serve betel and areca nut to the guests who have assembled for her wedding feast. (Copyright © 1980 by James J. Fox)



nized the importance of the office that was given the title *Radja* by the Dutch and *Manek* by the Rotinese. Each of the 18 domains is centered on this lord. His dynasty's genealogy is the reference line that orders the clans of the domain, and his residence and court, the *nusak lain* (the "high nusak") constitute the domain's symbolic center. The chief function of the Manek is to hear disputes, to deliberate on them, and in accordance with the *adat* law of his state, to render judgment. To make this point van Wouden quoted part of a Rotinese saying: "When the *manek* speaks, it is like the rolling of thunder" (1968, p. 64).

Van Wouden's problem was not that he misunderstood the role of the Manek or indeed the individual roles of some of the other titled functionaries whom he identified. His problem lay in trying to discern a system behind the plethora of variously named domain functionaries. In less than four pages of discussion (1968, pp. 62–65), he noted the following titles in addition to that of the Manek: *Manesio*, *Maneleo*, *Manedope*, *Mane-Anak*, *Feto/Fetor*, *Feto-Anak*, and *Dae Langgak* along with Rotinese synonyms for these titles (*Sio Ai*, *Manasonggo*, *Dae Lamatua*, and *Langak*) and alternative Malay-derived synonyms (*Radja*, *Tuan Tanah*, and *Temukun*). Van Wouden had little way of knowing which, among these many titles, were of primary importance for the Rotinese and which were secondary, synonymous, or derived terms. This exuberance of titles presented him with formidable problems whereas, in fact, viewed historically and symbolically, these titles form two aspects of a relatively simple system.

The Rotinese Title System as a Historical Creation

After the Dutch had established relations with the island in 1653, officers of the Dutch East India Company signed successive treaties of contract with the rulers of various domains in 1662, 1691, 1700, and 1756 (Fox, 1971a, 1977a). Politically, the most remarkable feature of these Rotinese–Dutch relations is that from the time of early contact to independence, the Dutch dealt with the Rotinese through a system of indirect rule based on essentially the same formal structures.

In signing treaties with the separate domains, Company officers consistently recognized a primary ruler whom they designated as Regent and a complementary ruler whom they named as the Second Regent (*Tweede Regent*). The Dutch also acknowledged, but did not formally appoint, a number of subordinate headmen in each domain to whom they applied the com-

mon Malay (originally Javanese) title Temukun. This formal system with its three title levels was retained with only minor alterations for a period of over three hundred years.

During the nineteenth century, the Dutch colonial administration adopted the title Radja for the Regent and Fetor for the Second Regent but continued to use the term "Temukun" for subordinate leaders. In the early decades of the twentieth century, under a policy of "intensification of rule," the colonial administration attempted to rationalize the nusak structure and its title system. But by this time this entire system had the weight of more than two centuries of Dutch-implemented tradition and precedent. Whereas on neighboring islands, native states that had had far less contact with the Dutch were subjected to a variety of fundamental changes, the rationalization program on Roti was effectively opposed and gradually undermined. To preserve their position, the rulers of Roti acquiesced only in the appearance of change. On October 31, 1928, they formally renounced their rights to the title Radja and agreed to the appointment of a Rotinese nobleman (of Fetor descent) as a temporary acting "Radja Roti." In doing this, however, they retained their rights to rule their domains under the title Manek, the Rotinese synonym for "Radja," and the several rulers of small domains that had in preceding decades been amalgamated with larger domains regained their "traditional" position. Thus, the island was once more divided into 18 domains with each domain ruled in theory by a Manek, a Fetor, and a number of Temukun, who, in accordance with a late colonial penchant for authenticity, were for the first time formally referred to by the Rotinese term "Maneleo." Together the Manek formed a council (the *Raad van Landshoofden*) to assist the sadly circumscribed temporary acting Radja Roti in governing the island.¹

When the Radja Roti died in office during the Japanese occupation, he was not replaced. The "traditional" system continued through the years of Japanese control and the period of Dutch restoration, and with minor modifications was maintained for almost two decades after independence. Indeed, it served the Rotinese rulers well after independence since by their use of an obscure native title, they avoided some of the opprobrium attached to the title Radja during a time of fervent antifederal sentiment. Within the administrative structure of the Republic of Indonesia, the 18 nusak were grouped into 4 *kecamatan*, or sub-districts, and generally the Manek of the largest nusak was cho-

sen to become the Camat, or Officer, for the subdistrict. Only in 1968 were administrative changes undertaken to alter radically this system of rule. (Since it is too early to assess the effects of these changes, this chapter deals with the Rotinese political system up until this time.) Certainly, it can be said that for three hundred years Roti possessed one of the most stable title systems in Indonesia.

It would be a mistake, however, to conclude that this title system was the only one in use on the island or that it coincided well with the system of titles used at the local level. It would be more accurate to describe the system that the Dutch maintained as an external title system, which the Rotinese accepted and eventually came to defend against changes proposed by the Dutch themselves. The Rotinese often used external titles for their own ends, particularly to disguise their complex manipulation of local affairs. Internally, another set of titles, based on Rotinese conceptions of order, made distinctions and articulated spheres of authority to which most Dutch officers and administrators were oblivious. Yet historically, the two sets of titles developed together and became intimately interrelated. The external system provided the appearance of unity throughout the island; the internal system allowed considerable diversity within the domains. The external system constrained and at the same time symbolically confirmed the internal system. At certain junctures, titles in the two systems became indistinguishable. Thus, for example, the evidence from Dutch records and from Rotinese oral traditions are equivocal on whether by appointing a Second Regent (or Fetor) in each domain, the Dutch actually created a new political position or merely recognized and gave title to an already existing office.

The existence of a stable system of externally titled offices (Regent/Radja/Manek, Second Regent/Fetor, Temukun/Maneleo) did not imply, however, a clear or precise specification of the rights and duties associated with these offices or of the relationships among them.² Despite a continuity of positions, the political system of indirect rule was by no means static. During the Company period, when local affairs were of little interest as long as order was maintained, the individual domains were allowed considerable scope in defining and adapting these offices. But beginning in the nineteenth century and continuing into the twentieth, as the management of local affairs became increasingly important, two discernible trends in the administration of the island emerged. The first was to elevate the Radja/Manek

over all other titleholders, including the Feto, and the second was to change the process of selecting Temukun or clan lords.³

The most serious discrepancy between the internal and external titles and their usage involved the Temukun in general and one Temukun in particular. Originally the Temukun were the senior headmen of named clans, whose members lived interspersed with one another in scattered settlements without formal villages. In the nineteenth century, however, it was assumed that the Temukun represented villages (see van Lynden, 1851). By the twentieth century, the colonial policy of governance was so committed to a residential mode of administration that even after Dutch officers realized their misunderstanding of the situation on Roti, they continued to press for the creation of villages (or at least nominal village areas) and for headmen to represent them. The lasting effect of this was to introduce a residential criterion in the election of Temukun. In the internal system, all the clans had to be represented; in the external system, all the village areas. As a result, Temukun had to be selected on an elaborate basis of mixed criteria, including clan membership, seniority, ability, and residence.

One particular Temukun was grievously slighted by the Dutch administration. This was the Dae Langgak ("Head of the Earth") whose office was given no special recognition in the external title system. To the Dutch, if the Dae Langgak was recognized at all, he was just another Temukun whereas to the Rotinese, he belonged in an entirely different category from the other clan heads.

The Dutch East India Company's policy of formally recognizing a Regent (Manek) and a Second Regent (Feto) created, in effect, a dual sovereignty in each domain. But this formal division, whatever its status at the time of Dutch contact, did not represent the primary diarchy within the nusak. The primary opposition to which the oral histories and genealogies of each domain attest is that between the ritual authority of the Dae Langgak and the political power of the Manek. Their mutual powers opposed and complemented one another. Thus, the Head of the Earth had the right, under certain circumstances, to annul the Manek's decision; his approval was necessary before a domain could make a raid or go to war; and his consent was required, in most domains, before a new Manek could be installed. The Dae Langgak was the chief sacrificer in times of disaster and he was variously described as Dae Lamatua ("Master of the Earth") or Manasonggo Nusak ("Sacrificer for the Domain").

Until 1870 his ritual supremacy was formally acknowledged by the fact that the Manek invariably entrusted his staff of office to the Dae Langgak who would, only after proper sacrifice, ceremonially convey it to the Manek when he was obliged to meet a visiting Dutch official. While on an inspection tour of Roti, a Dutch Resident from Kupang named Wijnen discovered this practice and, to enhance the position of the Manek, ordered it to cease throughout the island (Jackstein, 1873, p. 353). Similarly, the Dutch ignored the traditional rights of the Head of the Earth to a small portion of the harvest, to a share of the yield of the lontar palms, and to payment for permission to dig the earth to make a grave. Yet, despite this treatment and the encroachments caused by the gradual conversion of the Rotinese to Christianity, the position of the Head of the Earth was tacitly respected by most Rotinese.

Van der Kam, on whose report van Wouden relied, was one of the officers delegated to investigate traditional rule.⁴ He recognized that the domains were structured on the basis of clans, that villages were essentially a Dutch-inspired creation, and that the role of certain traditional figures, such as the Dae Langgak, had been denigrated. But by 1920 the external system could not be made to conform to the internal system. The "traditional rule" to which the Dutch found themselves inextricably committed, was largely a system of their own creation. The internal pattern of rule continued to operate under the cover of external forms. In seeking evidence of an ancient Indonesian social structure, van Wouden could only perceive the internal pattern through a heavy filter of external titles. It was virtually impossible for him to comprehend the basic ordering principles of the internal title system.

The Rotinese Title System as a Symbolic Creation

The internal title system of a Rotinese domain can be seen as both a political and a symbolic creation. A general conception of the underlying principles of this system and of the political factors that shaped its development is essential to an understanding of the variety of forms that the system has assumed throughout the island.

To the Rotinese, a nusak is the product of a historical process. Separate reference genealogies and their accompanying oral histories chart this development for each domain. They recount names and events that differ so considerably that the histories of the domains cannot be directly related. Yet despite the Rotinese

insistence on differences in most particulars, there is a broadly recognizable pattern of development attributed to the formation of most nusak. Genealogical time provides the critical index of this formation and of all existing divisions within a domain. Of the 30 to 40 names that compose a particular dynasty's genealogy, the first third generally consists of the names of obscure predecessors who lived prior to the arrival of a "founding ancestor" on Roti. The second third of the genealogy invariably includes the name of the specific ancestor who reached the island. The associated narratives tell of his relations with earlier inhabitants and of the foundation that he and his immediate successors gave to the nusak. Only the last third deals with those ancestors who became involved with the Portuguese and then with the Dutch. Europeans are regarded as late intruders who contributed to the completion of the long process of state formation.

At the beginning of this process is the Dae Langgak. The opposition between the Dae Langgak and the Manek is symbolically expressed as an opposition between land and sea. The origins of the different Dae Langgak, though vague, mysterious, or unstated, do not involve an autochthonous beginning. The Head of the Earth asserts a prior claim over the land by his earlier presence. His ancestor was simply there when the ancestor of the Manek arrived by sea and declared his political supremacy. The narratives relate the struggles and contests that ended in a varying antagonistic division of power and authority. In losing political power, the Dae Langgak preserved ritual authority and ultimate mastery of the earth's fertility.

Ideas about the Dae Langgak are given different expression in various domains. In the eastern domain of Korbaffo, the antagonism between the Manek and Dae Langgak is so marked that the two may not appear in each other's presence; the Dae Langgak, therefore, had no role at the Manek's court. In contrast, in Termanu the Dae Langgak was an important member of the court, the titled representative of his clan, and, in the Dutch system, a great Temukun. In Thie, while the title Dae Langgak was held in one clan, ritual rights were diffusely shared by a number of related clans that form a separate subdivision within the domain. Essential to the position of the Head of the Earth in all domains is "commoner" status. The Dae Langgak stands outside the hierarchy of nobility. Like the clown in the Javanese and Balinese *wayang* tradition, the Dae Langgak combines awesome religious power with social inferiority, a "foolishness" (*nggoa*) that hides a deep wisdom.

The Manek is conceived as the source of all lordship and nobility. His title and those of all lords except the Dae Langgak reflect this notion since they are based on the same Rotinese root, *mane-*, the category for "male," which in a wider context provides the semantic nexus for a range of political and social distinctions. Nobility and lordship are thus symbolically predicated on a hierarchy of "mane-" or "maleness."

Surmounting this hierarchy is the *Mane Tua Lain* ("The Great Male Lord of Heaven"), whose present conception shows some evidence of the influence of Christianity on Roti. Eclipsed by the *Mane Tua Lain*, but still of great traditional importance, is the god of thunder and lightning who is known as *Tou Manek* (literally "The Male Man"). With a celestial genealogy and decisive powers, the Manek of a domain was likened to *Tou Manek*. The full parallel phrasing of the Rotinese saying that van Wouden only partially quoted is: "When the *manek* speaks, it is like the rolling of thunder and the flashing of lightning."

Surrounding the Manek were the Manesio. These subordinate lords were the representatives at court of the clans, or *leo*, that made up the domain. As van Wouden (1968, p. 67) noted, the number 3 is, for the Rotinese, "an expression of completeness"—the number of times, for example, that a ritual action must be performed if it is to be effective. By extension, the number 9 (3×3) represents totality. Therefore, although their actual number varied from domain to domain, depending on the number of recognized clans, the court representatives of these clans were referred to as Manesio ("Lords of Nine"). They were also designated in terms of tree and rock, two powerful icons for the Rotinese. Thus the Lords of Nine were also called the *Sio Ai* ("Nine Trees") or the *Manelutu* ("Lords of the Smooth Stones"), a reference to their seats at rituals or at court. In the external title system, these lords were the *Temukun*; in the internal system they were generally called "mane" followed by the name of their clan.

The title of Maneleo (clan lord) was used as a semiofficial designation for the heads of large lineages that formed part of a clan already represented at court by a Manesio. In those domains with many court-recognized clans, "Maneleo" came to be used synonymously with "Manesio" and, in some cases, became the preferred title. Generally, however, "Manesio" with its connotation of membership in an all-inclusive totality denoted higher status in the mane-hierarchy.⁵

Another title in the hierarchy was that of Manedope (Thie:

Manedombe), "Lord of the Knife." This title was held by one or possibly two lords at court. It was bestowed on the ancestor of a lineage or clan in recognition of some special service and carried with it prerogatives expressive of this personal relation: the privilege of carrying the Manek's knife or kris or his betel and areca-nut container, the right to deputize for the Manek and even announce the Manek's decisions at court. A common strategy seems to have been to appoint, as Manedope, one of the lineage heads within the royal clan in order to gain another supporter at court. In Korbaffo, the title Manedope was vested in a lineage of the royal clan whose ancestor had, according to tradition, been mother's brother to the Manek and had rescued his line from extermination by the Dae Langgak. In Termanu, the title was held by a small clan, hardly more than a lineage, that had a special relationship with the Manek's line. In Thie, this title was held by a separate lineage of the Manek's clan, but with the further complication that the Fetor, too, had his own Manedope.

Mane- status was thus granted to the heads of clans; it was sometimes bestowed by special title, such as Manedope, but more often it was inherited. As in the case of many Indonesian societies with status lineages, this inheritance of status created serious political problems. A Manek held sway at a court numerically dominated by other clans. His own clan, the royal clan, however, was unique in that it alone was inherently noble. All of the agnatically related and genealogically ranked descendants of the Manek within the royal clan were Mane-Anak ("descendants of the Manek," or nobles). The royal clan, more than any other, was thus subject to continuous segmentation and status differentiation, and in some domains it tended to form a complete hierarchy of its own. The Mane-Anak as a class of nobles held an intrinsically higher status than the Manesio but within the court system, no corresponding political offices were available to them. Consequently, individual Mane-Anak were often the focus of dissension. In some domains, the political complexities of the royal clan dominated affairs and preoccupied the Manek more than his relationships with the other clans of his realm. Historically, the one factor that contributed to domain stability was the Rotinese educational system which channeled a large number of Mane-Anak to positions of prominence on Timor and other islands.

The category mane- defines a hierarchy surmounted by the Mane Tua Lain and Tou Manek, mediated by the Manek of each

domain, elaborated in such ranked court titles as Manesio, Maneleo, and Manedope, and transmitted as hereditary status to the Mane-Anak. This same category, in the Rotinese view, also refers to the quality of *samanek* that "vitalizes" all human beings. The Rotinese word "samanek" (Timorese: *smanaf*) is a cognate of the widespread Malay term for "spirit" (*samangat*) and therefore, in terms of its linguistic history, is unrelated to other Rotinese words based on the root mane-. A marked feature of Rotinese verbal discourse, however, is its frequent recourse to "folk" etymology as evidence for symbolic statements. Thus the Rotinese divide the word "samanek" into two parts: "sa-" (from *esa*: "one") and "manek." It is said that every human being has not one but three separate samanek; one at the right temple, another at the left temple, and a third at the crown of the head. The coordination of these samanek determines an individual's health and disposition. The implication is that everyone—not just men—possesses a certain degree of mane-. The gloss "male" is too limited and too literal a translation of "mane-." Rather than some exclusive property of the male sex, it denotes an aspect of life that is present in everyone but is more manifest in men than in women, and more in prominent men than in ordinary men. The fact is that mane- is a prime relational category that has to be considered, not in isolation but in association with its complements. One such complement is *feto-*, which connotes femininity and, depending on context, means "female sex," "woman," "girl," or "sister."

By adopting the title Fetor for the office that they originally designated as that of Second Regent, the Dutch provided the Rotinese with an ideal basis for the symbolic elaboration of their own title system. Historically, the Second Regent or Fetor was supposed to act in certain matters on behalf of the Manek. In most of the domains, the Fetor had jurisdiction over a set number of clans in the domain, and in times of interregnum, he ruled the domain. In all domains, the title Fetor was vested in a clan that derived from the clan of the Manek. Clan segmentation subsequent to this division has given rise to other clans with closer genealogical ties to either the Manek's or the Fetor's clan but for the Rotinese this is not allowed to obscure the prior and more important relationship. The claim of the Fetor's descendants to a lesser noble status is based on this special derivation from the royal line. In terms of Rotinese symbolism, the important feature of this title is that the Rotinese saw in the word "Fetor" their own feminine category *feto-*. Colloquial usage designated

the Fetor as *Mane-Feto* ("Female-Male" or more appropriately "Female Lord"). Similarly descendants of the Fetor were called *Mane-Feto-Ana*, ("children of the Female Lord"). In the political symbolism of the internal title system, the distinction between Manek and Fetor was analogous to that between "male" and "female" with "male" as the superordinate, more encompassing of the two categories.

The categories mane- and fetor- imply a potential for marriage, not in a direct sense but, as the Rotinese phrase it, in the way in which "the children of a brother and sister should marry 'to retie' their lines." This potential was exploited in the political system. Throughout Roti, members of the Manek's clan are generally expected to marry members of the clan of the Fetor. In different domains, this expectation is given a variable expression. In Bilba in east Roti, there is a strong, almost institutionalized preference for marriage between the two main lineages of the Manek and Fetor clans. A similar, though less marked preference also prevails in Korbaffo. In Termanu and Baä, however, this preference is not particularly developed. When such marriages occur, they are considered appropriate but they are not the subject of great social attention. On the other hand, in Thie and in Loleh the preference for marriage between the Manek and Fetor is extended to all of the clans assigned to either political office, creating, in effect, a system of marriage moieties.

Clans, Lineages, and Their Political Formation

The most significant feature of Rotinese clans is their political foundation. A clan, or *leo*, is a named group of agnatically related persons represented at court by a clan lord (Manesio or Maneleo). It holds no corporate land, and its privileges in the domain and its prerogatives at court are those granted or acknowledged by the Manek. Sources of water for irrigation claimed in the name of the clan are held by specific descendants of the ancestors who found them or were given them by the Manek. The implication of this is that the clan structure of Roti is to a large extent the product of political manipulation.

The designation of a group of agnates as a clan is not the automatic result of a process of demographic increase, segmentation, and fission. Recognition is dependent on the Manek and his court. Nor do clans have a standard size or internal structure; they vary enormously in membership. Some clans have diminished while others have grown large. Indeed, some lineages

(-teik) have a larger membership than many clans. Similarly, depending on the domain, a clan may be strictly exogamous or markedly endogamous, with marriages occurring frequently among its various lineages.

The very existence of a clan identifies it as a titled unit (of unspecified complexity), one among other such units within a domain. The essential point is that all titles were vested in these units. Hence, though the vicissitudes of the various title systems can be described in the past tense, a discussion of titles in relation to clans concerns a living reality. Clans derived their distinctions and indeed their origin as separate units from these titles. Titles, therefore, remain fundamental markers in the society. The fact, for example, that the office of Manedope has not functioned in any proper sense for decades has barely lessened the use of this title as a specific mark of certain clans. (In fact, one might argue that since there is no longer any internal rivalry to fill this office, the title now serves as a better marker for an entire group than it did in the past.) All Dutch attempts to change the title system overlooked the fact that titles were firmly rooted in specific groups and could not, therefore, be easily detached, abolished, or rearranged.

That clans are both stable and remarkably varied does not imply a lack of pattern to their formation. Clan formation on Roti is only one aspect of a larger formative process in which two tendencies are discernible.⁶ Broadly speaking, one tendency is evident in west Roti and another in east Roti. In west Roti, labor has been absorbed into an increasingly intensive lontar palm economy. Correspondingly there has been relatively less emigration from west Roti than from the east. In response to population increase, the Manek of the western domains have acquiesced in recognizing new clans in approximate accordance with the processes of segmentation and separation. No clan—not even the royal clan—has been allowed to become too hierarchically stratified. Outsiders have been absorbed as clients in various clans. Clan exogamy is the general rule and the Manek have attempted to enforce the same standard bridewealth payment for members of all clans. In contrast, the economy of east Roti, although still lontar-centered, has become more oriented than west Roti toward a combination of herding and wet-rice cultivation. Since 1816, east Roti has experienced considerable emigration. Powerful Manek have opposed the creation of new clans and have frequently incorporated outsiders as clients in their own individual clans creating large, hierarchically ranked

and stratified structures with themselves at the head. With limited possibilities for the formation of new clans, older clans have segmented into lineages. Lineage exogamy—not clan exogamy—is the rule. Marriage within some clans is indeed frequent, and in the status-conscious royal clans, endogamy has become the norm. In keeping with this tendency, the Manek of east Roti have actively promoted a schedule of differential bridewealth payments based on the status of the wife-giving group.

The domains of Termanu and Thie exemplify these opposite tendencies. Since the Dutch clan census of 1832, Termanu, which is considered part of east Roti, has maintained its framework of 9 clans while Thie in west Roti has seen an increase in the number of its clans from 10 to 26. In Thie only the Manek's clan, Mbura Lai, has a formally acknowledged internal structure which consists of 7 relatively shallow lineages, whereas Termanu has over 40 named lineages among its 9 clans, 16 of which are the ranked lineages of the Manek's clan, Masa Huk. In Thie, marriage within the clan is strictly prohibited; in Termanu, it is of common occurrence for most clans. In Thie, marriage is regulated by a moiety organization and the ideal of undifferentiated bridewealth; in Termanu, by competition among status lineages and the giving of unequal bridewealth. Thus, in simplest terms, since the early nineteenth century Thie has developed as an egalitarian and Termanu as a hierarchical version of the same structural system.

Marriage Rules and Levels of Alliance

If clans (*leo*) are titled political units of varying complexity and lineages (*-teik*) are named subunits that have proliferated in some domains but not in others, it is reasonable to inquire into what constitutes alliance groups in Rotinese society. In ordinary social discourse, both fluidity and precision of specification are possible in discussing alliance. The term "*leo*" can be used loosely to describe all subsidiary levels of segmentation. More commonly, however, clans (or lineages) are described as divided into "lineage segments" (*nggi-leo*), "birth groups" (*bobongik*), and "houses" (*uma*). Of these, houses or *uma* correspond approximately to units of alliance. Houses alone hold real property (as opposed to ritual prerogatives) and, therefore, nearly all bridewealth payments and subsequent gifts entailed by a marriage are raised from the resources of each house.

The matter of alliance is, however, a great deal more complex than this. First of all, on Roti there is no categorical prescription

of marriage. In other words, the Rotinese kinship terminology does not designate a specific category of potentially marriageable women. The commonly stated preference for marriage with the actual mother's brother's daughter is a verbal principle that is generally not observed, although—as the Rotinese explicitly note—such a marriage can reduce somewhat the payment of bridewealth. This means that there is no strict entailment to renew a marriage alliance by further marriage. Except among a few elite lineages for whom it is a political strategy, the formal renewal of a specific marriage alliance is not a common practice.⁷ New alliances are formed by the marriages of each generation.

Just as marriages create new alliances, they also create new houses. A house is roughly equivalent to an individual household headed by one man. Thus, the married sons of a man who has not yet divided his property establish their own households but they still refer to their father's house as their *uma*. (The term "bobongik" may be used in these circumstances to specify a group of siblings whose households are in the process of becoming separate *uma*.) When the father dies and his property is divided, each household becomes, in effect, an *uma*. All property is supposed to be divided equally among brothers with two important qualifications: the firstborn male inherits the exclusive right to oversee the father's alliance relations while the last-born inherits the father's house. This produces a seemingly curious situation. The eldest brother is charged with the ritual task of protecting the health and well-being of his sister's children yet the youngest brother has charge of the house whose immanent spirits are most capable of producing this life-giving protection (see Fox, 1971b, pp. 233–244; 1973, pp. 346–349). Brothers therefore normally cooperate in rituals and continue to consult one another especially in regard to the marriage and bridewealth distribution of their sisters. But the decisions about marriages in the following generation are left to each brother as the head of his own *uma*.

Marriage is contracted by the payment (or the promise of payment) of bridewealth (*belis*). Without this payment, the children remain members of their mother's group. They are reckoned as the children of their mother's brother and they take their names accordingly. But bridewealth is not simply the price of a woman, nor the price of her services, nor the price of her offspring. To the Rotinese, it is the price paid for a relationship and for the life-sustaining powers that this relationship provides. A

woman is the only means of establishing this relationship which continues through her children. If she dies or leaves her husband after the birth of her first child, the relationship persists without her. Bridewealth is, thus, merely an initial contractual payment; a continuing series of obligatory exchanges maintains this alliance for at least two generations.

The nature of alliance is expressed in the language of the rituals and in the objects of exchange. The rituals describe this relation in a botanic idiom. The wife-taking group requests "seed" from the wife-giving group. This "seed" is planted and thereafter the *toö-huk* ("mother's brother of origin") as the representative of the wife-giving group calls his sister's children his "plants" (*selek*). The mother's brother performs a ceremony to open the womb for the "eldest sprout and first fruit." He conducts a haircutting ceremony that, like an early pruning, allows the child to grow tall, "bear flowers and fruit," and "send forth roots and leaves." The mother's brother also "cleanses" the blood (or "sap") of the child when he is ill and drives away the evil effects of any injury when a sister's child's blood has spilled on the earth. The relationship continues throughout life to death, when the mother's brother is called on to perform the crucial segments of the mortuary ceremonies: he must oversee the washing of the corpse, the cutting of a tree for the coffin, and the burial itself.

At the marriage of his sister's daughters, the mother's brother is entitled to claim up to one-third of the bridewealth. To the children of this marriage, the mother's brother (*toö-huk*) becomes the mother's mother's brother (*baï-huk*). At all rituals requiring the *toö-huk*, the *baï-huk* is supposed to attend and assist. The final ritual function of the *baï-huk* is to direct the digging of the grave for his sister's daughter's children. Since these all-important ritual positions involve a relationship that spans a period greater than the lifetime of any individual, the positions of *toö-huk* and *baï-huk* are inherited from eldest son to eldest son until the last mortuary rituals that terminate the relationship.

The exchange of goods conforms to a fixed pattern: "male" goods are given in exchange for "female" goods. Wife-takers give herd animals (water buffalo, goats, and sheep), raw meat, and valuables, usually metal objects; wife-givers reciprocate with pigs, cooked food, and cloth, chiefly *ikat* cloths, which are a sign of wife-givers' protection. (The patterns on these cloths are a kind of heraldic display that identify the wearer by his alliance

relations.) Bridewealth is just one payment in this cycle of exchange. As an overture to the prestation of bridewealth, which is generally paid in water buffalo, the wife-takers present the wife-givers with a "spear and sword" (*te-tafa*). For this and other gifts, they are fed and are given pigs and cloth. At the wedding ceremony, the bride and groom may be draped in cloth by the wife-givers. At any time after the birth of a child, the mother's brother as wife-giver may send food and expect to be appropriately repaid. The payment demanded is always a "mature female water buffalo" (*kapa ina esa*); the actual payment is usually something of far less value. For "cleansing" a child's blood, the mother's brother is given a white ram in return for a piece of red cloth; for the haircutting ceremony, a knife (*dope*) and, traditionally, gold or silver coins to "sharpen" it. For the funeral ceremonies, the mother's brother brings a cloth to shroud the body and, in some domains, the cooked food that breaks the ritual fast of the close relatives of the deceased after the burial. For his services, the mother's brother is given the hind leg (*pa buik*) of a water buffalo and a traditional payment known as *lilo-mangok* ("gold and plate"). This can be a major payment; among nobles and wealthy Rotinese, payment may be made in gold and rice fields, but, like bridewealth, all payments are subject to negotiation. At the same time as the *toö-huk* receives his payment, the *baï-huk* is given the foreleg of a water buffalo and a traditional payment known as *te-dope* ("spear and knife"). Symbolically this death payment closes the cycle of obligatory exchanges, which began two generations earlier with the prestation of *te-tafa* (spear and sword).⁸

Every marriage on Roti thus establishes a three-generation alliance characterized by specific rituals and obligatory exchanges and designated by the kin terms that are considered its defining categories: father (or father plus elder/younger same-sex siblings): *ama-kaä-fadik*; mother's brother of origin: *toö-huk* (*hu*: "origin" or "root"); and mother's mother's brother of origin: *baï-huk*. One Rotinese (from Dengka), using the common botanic idiom, described this alliance relationship this way:

We men here are like a tree with one trunk but three roots: the main root is our father of birth, the second root our mother's brother of origin, the third root our mother's mother's brother of origin. As long as a person lives, these three roots cannot be done away with, for they are our path of life.⁹

From his father, a person derives his enduring social person embodied in his genealogical name and represented by his bones, which survive the decay of his flesh; from his mother, a person derives his flesh and blood, and he is dependent on his maternal relations for the rituals that sustain his life.

Figure 4.1 is a diagrammatic representation of the essential structure of alliance on Roti. In the standard paradigm of alliance, an ego is identified by three groups: his own, his wife-giver's, and his wife-taker's. A Rotinese is similarly identified by three groups, but these are his own group and the two groups that represent the line of his maternal affiliation. The various patterns of marriage in the different domains of Roti are all based on this same structure. This single core structure gives rise to varying marriage patterns precisely because it leaves vague and unspecified the nature of the groups united by alliance. The father's group can be defined as a house, a lineage, or a clan, as can the mother's brother's and the mother's mother's brother's groups. Depending on his intentions, a Rotinese can define alliance groups as exclusively or as inclusively as he wishes, with both a flexibility and a precision to fit his particular purpose. The definition of alliance groups also depends on domain organization. In some domains, an alliance can link three lineages of the same clan, whereas in other domains this is strictly prohibited. Thus the political structure of a domain is a crucial factor in alliance organization.

Throughout Roti, a payment called *huta nusak* ("domain payment") had to be made to the Manek's court to confirm a

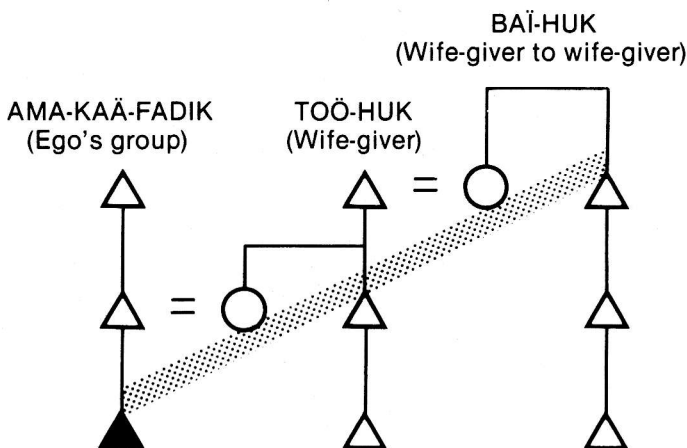


Figure 4.1. "The Path of Life": The line of maternal affiliation

marriage. This gave the Manek the power to ensure that all marriages conformed to the rules of his domain. He could thus intervene in cases of "incest," either to prevent a liaison or to extract a fine and impose a sacrifice to permit an improper marriage.

In the domains of east Roti where lineages proliferated and competition occurred over marriages of status, incest was narrowly defined and Manek seem to have intervened only rarely to prevent dubious unions. Indeed, careful examination of the genealogical evidence reveals that the Manek and other high nobles of these domains were among the most flagrant offenders of stated rules of lineage exogamy. On the other hand, in the domains of west Roti where exogamous clans were recognized, incest was defined very broadly. Marriages that would have been acceptable in east Roti were formally regarded as incestuous.¹⁰ The Manek seem to have intervened frequently to establish a pattern of correct marriages and also appear to have levied heavy fines on incorrect ones.

Of all the domains of west Roti, Thie seems to have developed the most complex marriage rules. These rules, which regulate marriage among the clans, are considered crucial to Thie's identity as a state; they distinguish Thie from all other domains. The people of Thie do not, however, see their marriage rules as part of a natural social order. Rather they attribute them to an oath sworn by the ancestors of all the clans at the instigation of a specific Manek. Linked, as they are, to events in the past, these rules constitute Thie's political charter. To understand these rules and the structure of alliance they create, we must therefore consider Thie as a historical entity.

The Political and Ritual Divisions of Thie

Although Thie was referred to as a territory in a letter dated November 22, 1660, it was not formally recognized by contract with the Dutch East India Company until 1690. Evidence suggests that at the time of its recognition, Thie was paying tribute to Termanu. Prior to that time, it was part of a region that suffered savage Dutch reprisals for its rebelliousness, and for decades afterward, its territory continued to be raided by Termanu and by Dengka, the largest domain of west Roti.

The same dynasty using the name Mesak (generally spelled in

an old Dutch fashion as Messakh) has ruled Thie since the time of its recognition. Two Manek of Thie were responsible for innovations that eventually transformed all of Roti. In 1729, the Manek Mbura Mesa converted to Christianity; his son, Foe Mbura (or Benjamin Messakh) who also converted and soon succeeded him, declared Thie a Christian state and established the first local Malay-language school on Roti. In 1973, the Camat for the southern domains of Roti, including Thie, was Jakobis Messakh whose line can be traced, in dated succession, to Mesa Mbura who signed the first contract with the Dutch in 1690.

The present population of Thie numbers over 12,500 giving the domain a population density of over 135 persons per square kilometer. Not only is Thie the most densely populated domain of Roti; it also has the most intensive lontar economy. Thie is an area of low proportional emigration and a large number of constituent clans. The domain is divided into 26 clans: 14 clans are grouped in Sabarai, the moiety of the Manek, and 12 clans in Taratu, the moiety of the Feto. That these moieties existed and their members intermarried is virtually all the information that van Wouden had at his disposal when he wrote his study. These facts are, however, only a starting point. There are numerous other divisions that affect the pattern of marriage.

All clans belong to either Sabarai or Taratu. But within each moiety, there are several other pertinent distinctions. Certain clans are classed as "major clans" (*leo inak*); others as "minor clans" (*leo anak*). This has nothing to do with the size of clan membership but corresponds roughly to the distinction that obtains in other domains between "noble" and "commoner" clans. While all clans in Thie are subsumed within a single putative genealogy, the major clans within each moiety claim closer genealogical connections. Among each group of the major clans, there are, however, further genealogical subdivisions that have political significance. Five of the eight major clans of Sabarai form a group known as Pandi-Anan ("Children of Pandi"); while six of the eight major clans of Taratu form a group known as Moi-Anan ("Children of Moi"), and four of these six clans form yet another group, Mboru-Anan ("Children of Mboru"). Traditionally, members of Mboru-Anan had the right to choose (or at least ratify the selection of) a new Manek, and members of Pandi-Anan had a similar right in choosing a new Feto. The following list arranges the clans of Thie in terms of these distinctions:

<i>Sabaraï</i>		<i>Taratu</i>	
	<i>Leo Inak</i>		
Pandi-Anan {	Mbura Lai	Moi-Anan {	Meo Umbuk
	Saba Lai		Feo Soru
	Henu Lai		Nale Feo
	Nggau Pandi		Tode Feo
	Meo Leok		Mesa Feo
	Tola Umbuk		Ndana Feo
	Sandi		Soru Umbuk
	Kolek		Langga Ledo
			Mboru-Anan }
	<i>Leo Anak</i>		
	Kana Ketu		Moka Leok
	Kona		Bibi Manek
	Le'e		Man' Dato
	Sua		Keka Dulu
	Musu Hu		
	Landu		

Titles allocated to the clans are the following:

Mbura Lai is the clan of the Manek and the only clan composed of named lineages. In addition to the royal lineage (Besi-teik), Mbura Lai has three other high-ranking lineages (Nale-teik, Tokai-teik, and Manufatu-teik) and three lineages that are said to derive from clients (Nara-teik, Mesa-teik, and Rondo-teik). The title Manek belongs to Besi-teik; the title Manedombe (of which Thie has two, one for each moiety) belongs to Nale-teik.

Moi Umbuk is the clan of the Feto. According to oral narratives, the fetorship was originally held by an ancestor named Moi Longgo, the founder of the subdivision Moi-Anan: Of Moi Longgo's two sons, the younger gained his father's title and passed it on to the clan that he founded, Moi Umbuk; the elder son, the founder of the genealogical subdivision Mboru-Anan, was given the title Manedombe for Taratu, which was inherited by his descendants. Thus, any member of the four clans of Mboru-Anan was eligible to serve as Manedombe.

Finally, the title of Dae Langgak belongs to Kana Ketu. This clan had the right, for example, to demand the head of one water buffalo slaughtered at any feast, and just before the onset of the rainy season, its members had ritual license to steal openly from members of other clans. But ritual rights at harvesttime are dispersed among all the minor clans of Sabaraï. A representative of any of these clans (Kana Ketu, Kona, Le'e, Sua, Musu Hu) can

claim a small portion of a household's harvest "to pay for the *adz*" (*tefa taka*). The minor clans of Sabarai are collectively associated with the powers of the Dae Langgak.

The various divisions within the moieties were allowed their clearest expression in the succession of clan ceremonies performed after the harvest. These ceremonies known as *hus* culminated in a general ceremony of increase called *limba*. Limba was held in anticipation of the new year; it involved a ritual battle to "bring in" the seeds and was filled with the symbolism of head-hunting which, as a practice, seems to have ceased on Roti by the early nineteenth century.

Four clans—Sua and Musu Hu in Sabarai, Bibi Mane and Keka Dulu in Taratu—are distinguished by the fact that they performed their own separate *hus* celebrations. The major clans of Sabarai performed their ceremonies (*hu lutu ain*) as a group; similarly, the major clans of Taratu performed their ceremonies (*hu dae ain*) together. The most important ceremonies were the prerogative of the minor clans of Sabarai. At these ceremonies, the clans Kona and Kana Ketu were identified with the east and the clans Sua, Le'e, and Musu Hu with the west. These clans were pitted against each other in a ritual battle. All other distinctions in the domain were obliterated and members of other clans were arbitrarily assigned to either the group of the east or the group of the west. For the ritual to proceed to its proper conclusion, the western group always had to triumph to emphasize the fact that although Kana Ketu held the office of Dae Langgak, the clans of Sua, Le'e, and Musu Hu were, in a certain sense, ritual superiors.

All of the divisions of Thie are assigned to specific points in time. They are considered to be the results of successive events that have occurred over many generations. The genealogy of the Manek of Thie, which consists of over 40 names, charts this formative process. The early names are those of wandering ancestors, one of whom eventually arrived in Thie. Clan segmentation is linked with names that occur between the eighteenth and thirty-third generations. Thereafter, with the arrival of the Dutch, names and their associated tales concern succession to the office of Manek and the final formation of the domain.

The clans that triumph at the harvest rituals (Sua, Le'e, and Musu Hu) are regarded as the most distantly related of the clans of Thie. Their genealogical point of segmentation (at the eighteenth generation) places their single ancestor in the same category as the supposed ancestors of other domains and of the

populations of other islands. Technically, the clans have no genealogical ties with the Manek. According to one tale, however, a brother of the Manek's ancestor found the ancestor of these clans as a baby wrapped in his afterbirth and raised the child as his adopted son.

There is some disagreement about the next point of segmentation, especially in regard to the other clans of Sabarai. (Some individuals derive Kona and even Musu Hu, for example, from a much later point of segmentation than that of Sua and Le'e.) The next significant juncture, however, occurs at the twenty-eighth generation. The formation of the moieties is attributed to this generation but this does not involve a simple bifurcation. Of four brothers, Saba Nara is regarded as the founder of Sabarai (which, from a genealogical standpoint, includes only its major clans); Saku Nara the founder of Taratu (which includes its major clans and some but not all of its minor clans); Ketu Nara the founder of the Dae Langgak clan of Kana Ketu; and Data Nara the founder of the clan Man'dato, one of the minor clans of Taratu. At this stage, some clans are not part of either moiety. There is, therefore, more than a genealogical basis to the moiety system.

The completion of the moiety system, the assignment of clans to one moiety or the other, and the establishment of marriage rules to regulate their interrelations are all attributed to the formal enactments of a Manek who lived at least seven generations after the emergence of the groupings of Sabarai and Taratu. According to some people, this Manek was Mbura Mesa; according to others, Besi Alu Pa, one of Mbura Mesa's successors. The accompanying narrative explains that the Manek invited all the clans to a feast. The clans that brought large female water buffalo became the major clans; those that brought smaller animals became the minor clans. The clan lords all swore an oath binding their descendants to the marriage rules of the moieties. Keka Dulu's clan lord arrived after this ceremony and therefore members of this clan may marry in either moiety. They are, in effect, excluded from the system, as are the members of Landu (a small, sparsely settled island directly off the coast of Thie). According to one account, Landu had not been settled when the moiety system was created; according to another, the population of the island has such a diverse background that it belongs "outside" Thie's marriage system. For political purposes, however, Landu is assigned to Sabarai and Keka Dulu to Taratu.

This "just so" tale is quintessentially Rotinese in character. It ascribes the final, formal reordering of a situation, which had been emerging in a complex, irregular fashion over generations, to an oath sworn at the behest of a Manek late in the development of the domain. This is not seen as an arbitrary act but rather as the culmination of genealogical developments that sets them within the ordered framework of a state. This "oath of the moieties" is Thie's political contract.

There is one essential feature of this moiety system about which van Wouden was unaware. Despite the repeated insistence by the people of Thie that Sabarai must marry with Taratu and Taratu with Sabarai, there is one important qualification to this rule: the minor clans of Sabarai (namely those with ritual powers over the earth) may marry either with Taratu or with the major clans of their own moiety. Marriage rules do not bisect the domain, they trisect it. In effect, there are three intermarrying groups: the major clans of Sabarai, the minor clans of Sabarai, and all the clans of Taratu. Symbolically, in terms of titles, the groups are those of the Manek, the Fetor, and the Dae Langgak.

The Historical Perspective on Clans and Marriage in Thie

Local explanation places final formation of the moiety system in the eighteenth century. The Manek who are credited with its establishment are historical figures whose reigns occurred between 1720 and 1770. Although there is no information in the Dutch records for this period that is relevant to these speculations, there is some information from the early part of the nineteenth century that is pertinent.

To determine the number of able-bodied men who could be conscripted for military expeditions on Timor, the Dutch in 1832 carried out a census, which provided an approximate enumeration of clan membership. This census divided Thie into ten clans with the following populations. (To facilitate comparison with the list of present clans, I have purposely arranged the clans according to the major and minor divisions of the moieties.)

Sabarai	500	Taratu	750
Saba Lai	300		
Tola Umbuk	400	Bibi Mane	200
		Mana Dato	300
Kana Ketu	50	Keka Dulu	300
Le'e	300		
Musu Hu	300		

It is clear that this list represents an early stage in the process of clan segmentation. That the two largest clans bear the names of the moieties suggests that the moiety system began as a set of rules affecting the two major clans of the domain and these rules were extended to embrace all other clans that came under their jurisdiction. This makes Thie less divergent from other domains that have preferential rules that pattern marriage between the clans of the Manek and the Fetor. But whereas none of the major clans of Taratu are indicated, Saba Lai and Tola Umbuk (both considered as major clans of Sabarai) were already relatively large in 1832.

The evidence of the separate status of the minor clans seems to be consistent with a host of local ritual and genealogical assertions that distinguish these clans from the major clans. But the list provides only a fleeting glimpse of an older structure for, within two decades, the court of Thie formally recognized the present set of clans. Another list of clans, published in 1851, named exactly the present-day clans and, with only one exception,¹¹ assigned them—as they have remained—to the jurisdiction of either the Manek or the Fetor.

The Present Perspective on Marriage in Thie

The marriage rules of Thie function at the level of the domain. As part of the political framework of the state, these rules apply to each clan as a unit. These units, however, are not all of equal size. It is commonly recognized that four clans have many more members than the others. Roughly in order of size, these clans are Man'dato, Keka Dulu, Tola Umbuk, and Mbura Lai. The first three happen to be ones that the Dutch records identify as large units in 1832. Thie's reference genealogy indicates that these clans have not segmented to form new clans as have most of the other clans on the 1832 list. As for Mbura Lai, other factors are relevant. Given the political ability of the Manek to attract outsiders as clients and the tendency of high nobles to contact polygynous marriages, the Manek's clan is generally one of the largest clans in any domain. Despite segmentation since 1832, Mbura Lai has been in a position to increase its membership at a faster rate than other clans.

Other political factors also have a bearing on actual marriages. Members of all clans live interspersed in scattered residence. For over a century, the Dutch attempted to transform a clan-based political structure into a village-based administrative structure. To accommodate to these changes, the Rotinese

tried whenever possible to choose each clan representative, or Temukun, from the village area where that clan had its greatest concentration. This practice seems to have further reinforced a tendency to concentrate in certain areas, since many clansmen preferred to live where their clan was best represented. At present, therefore, clans vary in size and members of particular clans tend to be more concentrated in some village areas than in others.

In 1973, as part of a larger demographic study of Roti, I carried out a preliminary survey of marriages in the adjoining village areas of Oe Handi and Meo Ain in Thie. Although I was unable to obtain data from all households, I did manage to collect enough reliable information to constitute a reasonably representative sample of marriages in both of these areas and in Thie in general. Of the 26 clans of the domain, only 5 (Henu Lai, Kona, Landu, Soru Umbuk, and Langga Ledo) are not represented by households in these village areas. The largest clans are, in order of size, Mesa Feo, Tode Feo, Musu Hu, Sua, Mburu Lai, Tola Umbuk, and Le'e. Not surprisingly, the headman of Oe Handi (now called *Kepala Desa* instead of Temukun) is from Mesa Feo and the headman of Meo Ain is from Tode Feo. Although there is a preponderance of members of Taratu (mainly from Tode Feo and Mesa Feo), the three intermarrying groups of Thie are all adequately represented.

Thie, like the other domains of Roti, is itself a highly endogamous unit. In the total sample, 7 percent of marriages were contracted with members of neighboring domains in west Roti, and 4 percent with people from other islands. A number of these outsiders were, in fact, clients who have settled in Thie and whose children will eventually be assimilated to their mothers' clans. Exactly half of the marriages with other islanders were with recent immigrants from Ndao, the tiny island off the western coast of Roti whose surplus population has traditionally migrated to Roti. In effect, therefore, only 3 percent of all marriages were contracted with persons from areas outside west Roti, including Ndao.

Of the marriages contracted between members of Thie's clans, 95 percent were in accordance with the marriage rules of the domain. This data is schematically summarized in the marriage matrix in table 4.1. These figures confirm that in Thie the clan is indeed a strict exogamous unit. Less than 1 percent of marriages occurred between members of the same clan. The three instances of such marriages (within Kolek and Le'e) were tolerated

Table 4.1. Matrix of marriages between clans in Oe Handi and Meo Ain

Wife-taker	Wife-giver																										Number of correct marriages (N = 333)	Number of correct marriages (N = 317)
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26		
1 Mbura Lai						①					2	1	2		1		1	7	4	2		1		1	1	3	27	26
2 Saba Lai									1				1			1			1								4	4
3 Henu Lai																											0	—
4 Nggau Pandi								1																			1	1
5 Meo Leok																		1									1	1
6 Tola Umbuk								1	1	1			1		1	1	5	11							1		22	22
7 Sandi																			1								2	2
8 Kolek							①					1						1	1						2		6	5
9 Kana Ketu							1																1		1		3	3
10 Kona																											0	—
11 Le'e	3					1				②								8	5					1			20	18
12 Sua	1	1				7								1			5	10	1				1	2			29	29
13 Musu Hu	5	2	1					①		①				1	2		11	15				3					42	40
14 Landu																											0	—
15 Moi Umbuk	1			1						2																	4	4
16 Feo Soru	2	2					1			1	2	1						①									10	9
17 Nale Feo	4					3				2			①					①									11	9
18 Tode Feo	7	3			3	4				1	11	6	5					①		①					4		46	44
19 Mesa Feo	8	1	1			19		3		15	10	16				①	①								2		77	75
20 Ndana Feo	3	2				1			1	1															1		9	9
21 Soru Umbuk																											0	—
22 Langga Ledo																											0	—
23 Moka Leok								1	1								①								1		4	3
24 Bibi Manek								1									①	①									3	1
25 Man' Dato	3	1																									4	4
26 Keka Dulu	2			1		1		1										1	2								8	8

on the grounds that they involved client lines not yet fully assimilated into the clan. For the three intermarrying groups into which the clans are divided, there is a similar high conformity to stated rules: 94 percent of the marriages of the clans of Taratu were with clans of Sabarai; 96 percent of the marriages of the minor clans of Sabarai were either with Taratu or with the major clans of Sabarai; and 97 percent of the marriages of the major clans of Sabarai were either with Taratu or with the minor clans. Figure 4.2 shows the marriages between these three groups.

All the internal, and hence incorrect, marriages within these three groups (16 of a total of 333) are classified as *telu tae* (a term that supposedly refers to a particular kind of spirit). In these

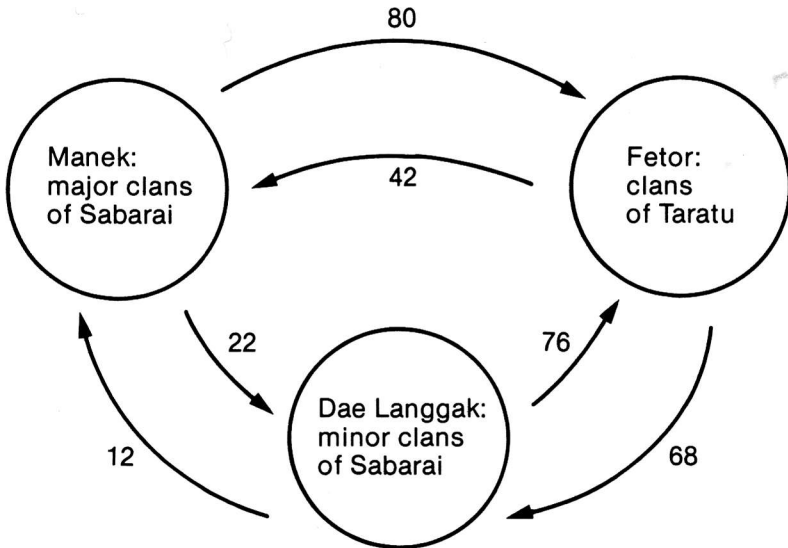


Figure 4.2. Wife-giving and wife-taking relationships among the three intermarrying groups of Thie. Numbers indicate the frequency of marriages among these groups in the village areas of Oe Handi and Meo Ain. The figure indicates very clearly the relative proportion of marriages within Sabarai compared with those between Sabarai and Taratu. Since the figure is based on a sample of marriages, wife-giving and wife-taking relationships are not—and need not be—in balance. The Rotinese tend to remember past marriages by referring to their line of maternal affiliation; so there is a definite bias toward the wife-taking relationship. This increase is in proportion to the number of marriages recorded for each particular group. Taratu, for example, has the most marriages and is therefore disproportionately represented as a wife-taker.

marriages, both the wife-givers and the wife-takers incur heavy sanctions: the wife-givers receive no bridewealth, and the wife-takers must pay a fine and perform a sacrifice at which a water buffalo is split in two "to cut the telu tae"; children are reckoned as members of their father's group; married couples are mockingly stigmatized as "short ears" (*dii-do mukuk*) and their children as "children of telu tae." The stringency of court-enforced sanctions and the beliefs in the dangerous effects of these marriages are sufficient to deter, but certainly not prevent, them.

A closer examination of the marriage data from Oe Handi and Meo Ain indicates that Mesa Feo, the largest clan in this locality, can claim that by its frequent marriages it has special alliance relations with the major clans Tola Umbuk and Mbura Lai and the minor clans Le'e, Sua, and Musu Hu. Tode Feo can claim similar relations particularly with Le'e, just as Le'e, Sua, and Musu Hu can with Mesa Feo and Tode Feo. Two-thirds of all marriages in the sample were contracted among these seven numerically dominant clans, which represent all three intermarrying groups. As the matrix in table 4.2 indicates, the marriages of these seven clans show an even higher conformity

Table 4.2. Matrix of marriages between numerically dominant clans in Oe Handi and Meo Ain

Wife-taker	Wife-giver							Number of marriages (N = 211)	Number of correct marriages (N = 206)
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
1 Mbura Lai		①	2	1	2	7	4	17	16
2 Tola Umbuk			1	1		5	11	18	18
3 Le'e	3	1	②			8	5	19	17
4 Sua	1	7				5	10	23	23
5 Musu Hu	5			①		11	15	32	31
6 Tode Feo	7	4	11	6	5		①	34	33
7 Mesa Feo	8	19	15	10	16			68	68

Note: Circles denote incorrect marriages.

to domain marriage rules (98 percent) than the sample as a whole.

It is evident, then, that the marriage rules of Thie are indeed effective in directing relations among the clans, in creating dense local networks of alliance, and in preserving the ideological image of the domain by which the population of Thie distinguishes itself from other Rotinese.

Comments and Conclusions

Speculation about Thie in van Wouden's work was part of a general theoretical discussion that contributed to the development of what has become known as alliance theory. From this present vantage point, it is useful to consider briefly how Thie as a particular case relates to various models of alliance.

Van Wouden intuitively recognized the symbolic importance to societies in eastern Indonesia of the complementary categories of male and female. Thus his formal model of intersecting lines of patrilineal and matrilineal descent bears some resemblance to Rotinese conceptions. The Rotinese, however, conceive of male lines as permanent and persisting and female lines as brief in duration and ever-changing.

The critical difficulty with van Wouden's model as far as Roti is concerned is not, therefore, its emphasis on male and female categories but rather its attempt to reduce the use of these and other categories to a single dimension. Instead of attending to the complex use of categories and the hierarchy of relations they can connote, van Wouden confounded levels of alliance by compressing them into one. It is precisely such basic categories as male and female that assume a varied significance in different contexts and at different levels. Thus, Rotinese throughout the island share basically similar ideas about male descent and female affiliation, ideas which are repeatedly affirmed in exchange relationships and in the rituals of the life cycle. Yet the political expression of these categories (mane/feto) in the organization of clans and lineages is distinct and varied. The symbolic use of these same categories at different levels both unites and differentiates the domains of Roti.

In van Wouden's model, the coincidence of alliance levels and the concordance of symbolic categories are predicated on permanent relations among exchanging units based on some form of cross-cousin marriage. On this point, Thie presents a radical departure from the model. The intermarrying units of the society—partially, though not exclusively, identified by the cate-

gories of male and female—are united in obligatory relations that require neither a categorical prescription nor a jural rule of cross-cousin marriage (see Needham, 1973a). Rather than relying on a positive injunction, Thie operates under a set of constraints that prohibit marriage within the ambit of a defined number of clans. This ambit of constraint varies depending on the particular clan. Keka Dulu, for example, is forbidden marriage only with itself, whereas any other clan of Taratu is forbidden marriage with 10 clans besides itself. This still means that for any clan there are at least 15 other clans with whom marriage is possible. For any individual, one-half to two-thirds or more of the individuals of the opposite sex are potentially marriageable. Among permitted marriage partners, there are, however, no positive rules to direct alliance relations.

Despite the fact that the alliance system of Thie, in its most general form, operates negatively through the application of sanctions to prevent incorrect marriages, the people of Thie themselves view the relations among the three intermarrying groups of their domain in a positive fashion. Although the perception of these groups varies—members of Taratu tend to regard the domain as divided essentially into two groups whereas members of Sabarai see it as divided into three—there is nevertheless an ideological emphasis on the necessity of alliance among these symbolically encompassing entities. The people of Thie confirm this by the overwhelming majority of their marriages. Thie has, as it were, a proscriptive system of marriage symbolically masquerading as a prescriptive one.

Except for a wider definition of constraints, alliance relations among the individual houses that actually exchange women are not markedly different in Thie from alliance relations in other domains. The decision to contract any given marriage is influenced by a range of social, economic, and personal factors. Each marriage is sufficient on its own to establish a relationship with obligations and entailments that continue for several generations; but this relationship does not entail that the alliance be renewed. Indeed by the time the obligations of the alliance have been met, the initial contracting houses have become differentiated into several new houses.

We can conclude from the evidence that the Rotinese have long since ceased to rely on elementary structures in kinship, alliance, and classification. That they once maintained elementary structures similar to those of other peoples of eastern Indonesia seems a warranted assumption. The present resemblance

of the Rotinese system to others in eastern Indonesia is not based on an identity of social structures, but on the preservation of a common repertoire of complementary categories and their symbolic use in the organization of these very different societies (see Fox, 1971c, 1974, 1975). The Rotinese have been liberated by their own history and must now live with an ever-changing past. Thus, we can examine Thie, not as van Wouden did, in search of evidence of an ancient Indonesian society, but in an attempt to plot comparatively the possible range of variation among related societies in eastern Indonesia and beyond.

5 The Social Organization of the Ema of Timor

Brigitte Clamagirand

THE EMA OF TIMOR belong within the culture area studied by van Wouden and their society has many of the features to which he drew attention. Among these is an adherence to a rule of exclusive cross-cousin marriage that produces, as its organizational correlate, the triad composed of an ego's group, a wife-giving group, and a wife-taking group. "This marriage custom," van Wouden wrote, "is the pivot on which turns the activity of the social groups" (van Wouden, 1968, p. 2). Thus, the Ema have a rule of exclusive cross-cousin marriage, and triadic groupings figure prominently at all levels of Ema social organization. Van Wouden, however, saw a further significance in this marriage pattern. "Cosmos and human society," he went on to argue, "are organised in the same way, and through this there emerges the essential interconnexion and similarity of the human and the cosmic" (1968, p. 2). In this regard, too, the Ema establish their relationship with sacred forces in accordance with a pattern that exists among the living, both at the level of the elementary social group and at the level of the society as a whole.

The object of this chapter is to examine the main outlines of Ema society and to concentrate on what appears fundamental to the comprehension of the system of Ema social organization.

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My intention is to provide a general picture of this society and not to discuss in detail any particular aspect of it. I shall examine what appears to be the basic unit of Ema society: the group of elder/younger brothers who belong to a core house, which unites several households. A core house gives every man his name, his status, and his network of alliances. I will consider the core house from two viewpoints: in terms of the private domain and as a part of a community. The distinction between private domain and communal domain is fundamental but depends, however, on the definition given to "private" and "communal." "Private" refers to everything that concerns the life of a single core house or a group of core houses but that does not involve the community as a whole. "Communal" refers to all actions performed for the benefit of the community as a whole, even if all core houses do not take an active part in them. The community is regarded as a specific entity with its own personality which gives it an existence different from that of a simple accumulation of core houses. Every individual is both a "child" of his core house and, through it, a "child" of the community. Thus, every person belongs to two different worlds.

The Ema, who call themselves by this name but are called Kemak by their neighbors and by other peoples of Timor, number approximately 50,000. They live in central Timor; to the north, their territory extends to the sea, to the south and west, it borders that of the Bunaq, and to the east, that of the Mambai. The Ema are divided into various traditionally autonomous territorial units. These are further divided into a number of districts (*suku*) which are headed by district chiefs (*Dato*) who were the link with the former Portuguese administration. I carried out my main research in one of these communities, Marobo, which is situated in the mountains and has a particularly rugged landscape. Terraced fields have been built on the rocky mountain slopes and are farmed according to a pattern of shifting cultivation. Settlement is characterized both by villages, which often have well-defined limits, and by numerous scattered houses, which are found either alone or in small groups. The main subsistence crop is maize, but the Ema also grow rice, both dry and wet, and cultivate tubers such as yams and taro. In addition, they raise cattle and keep fowl.

The Core House

All Ema houses are permanent dwellings, built on stilts according to the same plan. They consist of a platform and a

square room surrounded by walls, and the whole is covered by a roof that extends almost to the ground. Differences exist, however, in size, finishings, and the shape of the roof which may either be round or have a ridge. Each house shelters a family composed of a father, a mother, and their unmarried children. The orientation of houses depends on their site. There are two kinds of site: *ilat* and *rae mdon*. The *ilat*, on which villages are located, is the land subject to ritual prohibitions; it comprises an area from the top of the mountain of Marobo to the two rivers that encompass it. Houses built on the *ilat* open to the west, for people living in them must not see the rising sun, which is an ancestral personification. *Rae mdon*, on the other hand, is open land, free of prohibitions, in which it is possible to farm new fields.

The Ema use four different terms to describe their houses. An *umar no apir* ("house and hearth") is regarded as a sacred house. It represents the space rendered sacred by the presence of the *tatakala* (heirlooms of gold and silver discs that have come from the ancestors and constitute the insignia of the house) and by the presence of other objects used in rituals. I call this kind of house a "core" house because it plays a central part in the life of the group of elder/younger brothers who are linked to it, although they live elsewhere. Certain rituals that are essential to the life of the group can take place only in this house and all members of the group unite to build or rebuild it. Other kinds of houses, *uma taka no lia*, *uma bea no ai*, *uma asi laran*, depend on a core house. They cannot exist without it nor form a network of independent alliances. In fact, if a group were on the verge of extinction, its core house would be the last to disappear. All but a few core houses have a round roof; they are always built on the *ilat* and usually within a village. In contrast, dependent houses always have a ridge and may be built either on the *ilat* or on *rae mdon*.

A core house is normally inhabited by a man who is considered the eldest member of his group. Such a group, which is composed of elder/younger brothers who either live in the core house or in its dependent houses, cannot, however, be equated with a lineage. Although all members of a group recognize a common ancestor, genealogical ties are not memorized. Rather a group consists of a collection of lines, whose members live in separate conjugal family dwellings, since, according to the rule of residence, a man and his married sons or married brothers generally do not live together and married daughters live in their husbands' houses.



An *umar no apir* house and a rice granary (*lako*) in the village of Atu Aben (Copyright © 1980 by Brigitte Clamagirand)

A house that is designated as *taka no lia* ("basketwork and enclosure") has as its ritual function the upkeep of the sacred buffalo stone (*bena*). "Basketwork and enclosure" denotes the "containers" for the two major kinds of heirlooms: gold and silver discs and water buffalo. Discs and buffalo are acquired by working in the fields ("to collect palm wine and to till the fields in

order to see discs and buffalo"). Newly acquired wealth must be added to existing collections of heirlooms at a periodic ritual.

A *taka no lia* house may acquire a measure of independence from its core house through the personality of its masters, past and present. It may thus come to possess certain ritual objects and may serve as the site for the ceremonies that accompany birth, the introduction of newborn children, weddings, and the immediate burial of the dead. But the ritual sequence always points to the house's dependence on the core house, either by the offering of sacrificial meat or, in the case of a wedding, by the presentation of a wife to her husband's ancestors in the core house. Moreover, funeral rituals, which often take place several months after death and mark the definitive separation of the dead from the living, must be performed in the core house for all members of the group who have died since the last funeral feast. Moreover, a *taka no lia* house can never choose matrimonial allies other than those of its core house.

An *asi laran* ("in the middle of the field") house, on the other hand, has no ritual function. Although it is sometimes built on the *ilat*, it is more often built on open land. The rituals performed in a *taka no lia* house may also be performed in an *asi laran* house but because such a house possesses no ritual objects, it must perform its ceremonies with borrowed objects.

A house is called *bea no ai* ("water and tree") when its official role is to care for the coconut and areca-nut palms cultivated near springs by means of irrigation. This name may be applied to either a core house or an *asi laran* house.

All the dwellings of the group of elder/younger brothers are centered around the core house. During the rainy season, each household has a measure of independence and cultivates its own private fields. During the dry season, however, when almost all private and communal rituals take place, the ties between brothers tighten. Brothers, both true and classificatory, maintain a firm solidarity that obliges them to settle their conflicts peacefully. Any violation of this solidarity, the Ema believe, is dangerous for all members of the group and can even cause the death of someone who is in a precarious state (a woman in labor, for example). At times, quarrels between brothers may lead to a total breach within the group and the creation of a new core house, which gradually recreates the usual structure of a core house with dependent houses.

An elder/younger brother relation can also exist between certain core houses if one considers itself derived from the other or



Dancing at the communal feast held after the first harvest of dry rice
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if they both claim a common origin. This relationship is emphasized by a common name, which is followed by a specific term that differentiates the houses. Kebu Ubun and Uma Nera, for example, are common names shared by two houses. The two Kebu Ubun houses are distinguished as Kebu Ubun Atu Paen Pun ("Kebu Ubun at the foot of the terrace") and Kebu Ubun Atu Paen Laun ("Kebu Ubun at the top of the terrace"). Similarly, the two Uma Nera houses are differentiated according to the relation between them: Uma Nera Uma Boten ("main Uma Nera house") and Uma Nera Uma Anan ("lesser Uma Nera house"). This relationship implies dependency. The main core house is

considered superior because of its seniority, even if this fact may not have genealogical support. Some core houses are said to be the "tip" of others. In practice, this relationship seems to entail a greater solidarity between such houses. However, all the core houses sharing the same name are conscious that they form a unit because they claim a common ancestor, the founder of the "mother" core house from which they all derive.

If the status of "mother" core house is held by an existing core house, this need not be genealogically proven. Thus there is no recollection of a genealogical connection between Dasi Mau, the ancestor and founder of the first core house Dasi Ubun, and the ancestors of each core house in Marobo territory that now bears the name Dasi Ubun. The hierarchy among core houses is evident from the role of each house in the collective rituals of the community.

The village is not a pertinent social unit; indeed, the Ema have no word for "village." The settlements I refer to as villages have names that are often associated with their location, for example, Atu Aben ("steep rock") or Ilat Laun ("top of the ilat"). Core houses that share a name may be built in the same village or in different ones. Matrimonial allies may be chosen from within as well as from outside the village. The fields named *asi liapun* ("fields at the foot of the village enclosure") are farmed by individual members of the core houses of the village, but there are also collective fields in which each core house of the community has a parcel of land. Finally, no rituals concern the village alone. Collective rituals are performed for the benefit of all members of the community. Formerly defensive units, the villages are now administrative units headed by village chiefs (*Dato Kase*: "foreign chiefs").

The ties that bind elder/younger brothers who bear the same name but belong to different core houses vary. For some, these ties may be relatively close. These core houses work with each other, share sacred objects and ritual sites, and attend each other's ceremonies. Other core houses may be totally separate. This variation is due to factors such as location (some houses are close together, others are far apart) or the personality of the house masters (some promote, others retard solidarity between the members of the core houses).

A strict rule of exogamy is not always followed by the elder/younger brothers who live in different core houses that share the same name. A marriage alliance between two such houses, however, often has a special character. This kind of alliance is called a *bei bei* or *tali api serin* alliance.

At a higher level, core houses are divided into two main categories: those derived from autochthonous core houses (that is, those whose ancestors were the first to appear in the territory of Marobo) and those from immigrant core houses, which are derived from three principal lines, Dato Telu, Kaku, and Uma Telu. Dato Telu is the line that gave birth to the three chieftains who rule Marobo.

It is clear, then, that a core house—the minimal social unit of Ema society—can exist within the context of a larger group of elder/younger brothers attached to different core houses. For larger groups of this kind, the preeminence of some core houses appears to result more from their specific role in the community than from some sort of seniority, which remains genealogically unproven.

The Core House in the Private Domain

At the private level, Ema society appears to be based on a juxtaposition of social units (corresponding either to individual core houses or to a group of core houses with a common origin) that act in a similar manner in regard to all events of the life cycle. Marriage alliances play an important role at this level in everyday life and in all rituals that affect the life of the core house and its members.

A core house is the minimal exogamous unit of the society. Ema kinship terminology prescribes marriage with the mother's brother's daughter. Parallel cousins and patrilineal cross-cousins are classified as sisters. There is one term for both the mother's brother and the bride's father and one term for both the father's sister and the bridegroom's mother. However, the members of a core house may choose spouses from any of the group of core houses with whom their core house has permanent matrimonial ties. These houses are classified as either wife-givers (*uma mane*: "masculine houses," that is, core houses from which brothers may choose their wives) or wife-takers (*mane heu*: "new men," that is, core houses into which sisters may marry). Wife-givers are also called *na'ir no tatar* ("maternal uncles and ancestors") and sometimes *inar no amar* ("mothers and fathers") and wife-takers *mtor no anar* ("sisters and their children") and *kir no bagir* ("paternal aunts and their husbands").

There are also different categories of matrimonial allies. Wife-givers and wife-takers with whom the earliest marriage alliances were made are referred to as *ai mea*. Each core house generally has two wife-givers and two wife-takers who are con-

sidered *ai mea*. In fact, however, the "*ai mea*" title does not always correspond to the most ancient ties because when a previously allied group disappears or ties with an allied group are severed, this title is bestowed on another core house.

Wife-givers and wife-takers with whom matrimonial alliances were established after those with the *ai mea* are called *bae botu* ("to turn and meet"). Depending on the core house, the number of these allies varies from two or three to eight or nine.

In contrast to other categories of allies, wife-givers and wife-takers with whom there can be no direct affinal ties are called *bei bei* ("to follow"). The women of these groups must be "adopted" by the official wife-givers of the bridegroom's core house before they can be married. Their original core house must, however, be a wife-giver to the adopting core house. This alliance lasts only as long as the marriage. In some cases, the core houses of the married couple can become official allies when the necessary prestations are made and a ritual to "smooth the way" has been performed. Such a change in alliance, which bypasses a stage in the circulation of women, appears to result from the desire to form a marriage that closes a three-partner cycle. Thus, a woman from A gives birth to a daughter in B; the daughter goes to C where she gives birth to a girl who is given in marriage to A. The young girl is said "to return to the nest" (house A), the house of her maternal grandmother. This house is called the *uma mane pun* (the "base house of the wife-givers") and is considered the source of the life that the girl possesses, transmits, and returns to the house of her husband. Her husband "drinks the egg and eats the placenta" when he marries the child of a woman who came from his own house two generations earlier, the granddaughter of his grandfather's sister.

A *bei bei* marriage is also described as the taking of a wife from the wife-taker's wife-taker's house (*ala ine da mane heu tahan no laun*: "to seek a wife in the wife-taker's leaves and tree-top"). C takes wives from B, who takes wives from A. Thus, there is an equivalence in this marriage that can be stated as $G = TT$ (where G = giver and T = taker). But this three-partner cycle can be achieved only by a shortcut that makes a giver of the giver of a giver; thus $GG = G$. The "normal" equation is reestablished by the formula $TT = GG$, which represents a four-partner cycle. The cycle ABCA should, by rights, be ABCDA. Shortening it seems to provoke an uneasiness, a feeling of confusion, especially for the woman born in B, over the status of giver and taker. One woman expressed her feelings in this way: "A gave

birth to me; in turn, I gave birth. How can A come and take my daughter?" In other words, how can givers become takers? The elders tried to explain to her that this marriage was not contrary to the direction of alliance, but she was not convinced. When she returns to her original house, she treats her givers with customary familiarity, but when they come to her husband's house, she has to adopt the distant, formal attitude used toward takers. Thus, delayed exchange can provide a satisfactory pattern of kinship behavior only when there are at least four partners. The approximation of a norm of a four-partner cycle is confirmed at the communal level, where such an alliance cycle has evolved.

"Tali api serin" refers to the bond between two core houses that establishes a direct matrimonial exchange contrary to the normal rule of exogamy. Often a mother core house becomes the initial wife-giver to a core house derived from it. Tali api serin allies are not considered ordinary allies. The term *tali api* ("fire liana") is the name of a liana that leaves a mark on the skin much like a burn. Since matrimonial allies are obliged to have separate hearths, the term probably alludes to the fact that such allies previously shared the same hearth. During feasts, when meat is distributed, the term "tali api serin" is used instead of the real name of the house. Similarly, there can be no offering of betel nut, and everyone takes from his own container. Goats exchanged between these allies are tied apart from each other and the discs exchanged may not be brought into the house but instead are passed from hand to hand.

An affinal relationship involves core houses in a cycle of exchange at all events that regulate the social life of the houses, not merely at the time of the payment of bridewealth. Marriage payments and counterpayments always circulate in a given direction: the gold and silver discs, the buffalo, and the goats that come from the wife-takers "meet" the pigs and cloth brought by the wife-givers. Payments are made to various people: the bride's parents, her brothers, and her maternal grandparents. There are, in fact, two "prices" that represent different degrees of bridewealth. The "lower price" (*elir anan*) entails virilocal residence. Children belong to the husband's core house, but divorce is possible, and both property and children can be divided according to mutual arrangements. If the "high price" (*elir boten*) is paid, divorce is not allowed and the wife may not return to her original core house if her husband dies. The "lower price" is much more frequent, but divorces are rare and polygamy even rarer.

The payments made to the bride's brothers indicate the

unique tie that binds siblings (*nar no mtor*: "brothers and sisters"). This payment is called *sebo lo'e* ("to untie and open," that is, "to untie the legs and open the arms of the brother" so that he will allow his sister to go). The same type of payment is made by the sister's husband when the brother dies; it signals the ultimate separation of brother and sister and ends the payment of meat that is due to the brother during rituals. The emphasis is thus on the special bond between brother and sister, who form a unit that must be broken if each is to accomplish his or her given task. The brother continues his core house by means of a woman who comes from his wife-givers, but he obtains this woman via the bridewealth received for his sister when she leaves the core house to go to her husband's core house to give birth.

Payments are made to the *uma mane pun*, the house of the maternal grandparents (who are the bridegroom's wife-givers' givers). These payments are called *brau ten ai mapun* ("buffalo dung and dried tree"), an expression that evokes an image of what is left after life has disappeared. When a woman marries, she is able to pass on the life she has received from her mother and, through her mother, from her maternal grandmother. The tie between grandmother and granddaughter is remembered because, as the Ema say, "the footprints are still damp."

Wife-givers are considered superior because they transmit life through the women they give in marriage and therefore they have a special power over life in general. They are the first to be consulted in cases of sickness and of bad omens. In all rituals that take place in the house, they are the ones who, with breath tinged with betel, blow on their wife-takers to drive away afflictions and bring health and fecundity. The attitude toward wife-givers is one of both familiarity and awe because of their power over life.

At death, wife-givers play a special role. They must give their consent for burial to take place and, at the time of the funeral, they receive various payments from their wife-takers. For the wife, as for her husband, it is the original core house of the woman that receives the payment called *timirin* ("jaw"). Maternal affiliation is also underlined by other payments. The dead person's mother's original core house receives the payment called *garar* ("head") while the maternal grandmother's original core house receives the payment called *ha'ar* ("root"). When a marriage is decided, the wife-takers pledge to make a payment when the bride's core house has to be rebuilt. Moreover,

throughout their lifetime, the wife-givers can claim from their wife-takers payments to fulfill obligations to their own wife-givers. Wife-takers are always welcomed and looked after because they bring wealth, but wife-givers try to extract the maximum from them.

An important feature of the marriage system is respect for the direction of alliances. No marriage that reverses the direction of alliance can be found in the local census. If such a marriage were to occur, it would be impossible, according to the Ema, to engage in discussions or to make the necessary payments and counterpayments, for, as they say, "buffalo cannot meet buffalo." Reversing the direction of alliance would be "giving against" instead of "giving to meet." The regular flow of exchanges evokes an image of the flow of life which circulates by means of women. If there were no way by which payments and counterpayments could be exchanged, the transmission of life could not normally take place and the child would remain within the mother's womb for he could find no "way out."

Matrimonial allies are a permanent feature in the life of a core house and their presence is required at all its rituals. Rituals cannot be performed without them. Even if goods are not exchanged, some sacrificial meat must be eaten: wife-takers must receive pork and wife-givers goat's meat.

In the private domain, rituals recur in a similar fashion for all core houses. These rituals unfold in accordance with the same schema: they are conducted by the master of a house attended by his wife-givers and wife-takers and are accompanied by an exchange of meat and goods which circulate in specific directions. Differences may appear in a particular ritual, but these differences do not affect its fundamental structure. In particular, the number of allies who attend a ceremony may vary and only a limited number of core houses of superior status may "unfold the way of the ancestors" during their funeral feasts. The "way of the ancestors" recounts the traditions of the territories through which the ancestors journeyed before settling in Marobo. Essentially, however, in the private domain core houses are ordered in a horizontal or egalitarian structure characterized by a cycle of exchange between wife-givers and wife-takers.

The Core House in the Communal Domain

"Communal" refers to all that pertains to the community as a whole. As part of a community, core houses are ordered in a hi-

erarchical structure around the chiefly core houses that play a central part in the marriage alliance pattern and in the collective rituals. The chieftain's political power consists in judging and regulating (*ukon no badu*). *Badu* is the determination of prohibitions that regulate the use of the fruits of the earth. *Ha ukon* ("to eat sacrificial meat") refers to the eating of meat during rituals performed to rectify a violation of customary law. Thus, chiefs rule over *ai no oa* ("trees and bamboo"), *da'a no bo* ("betel plants and areca palms"), and *pas no mi* ("mangos and candlenut trees").

In Marobo, this power is exercised by the three chiefly core houses, Lolo Ubun, Dasi Ubun, and Bere Ubun, whose founders were the brothers Lolo Mau, Dasi Mau, and Bere Mau of the line of Dato Telu. In each chiefly core house, there is a "hot" *Bei* ("chieftain") and a "cold" *Bei* and, as the Ema say "the three hot ones and the three cold ones" rule Marobo. The hot, or "masculine," *Bei* judge and regulate; the cold, or "feminine," *Bei* "invoke the rain." The hot and the cold *Bei* still retain their ritual powers even today but the hot *Bei*, who seem to have once held both political and ritual power, appear to have lost their political power to the three district chiefs who were connected with the Portuguese administration. In Marobo, however, even these district chiefs are chosen from traditional chiefly core houses.

Marobo is symbolically partitioned into an eastern and western division. According to oral tradition, after a quarrel with his elder brothers (Lolo Mau and Dasi Mau), Bere Mau fled. His flight caused the rain to cease. Eventually, however, he agreed to return but only after he had received from his brothers the resources necessary to pay bridewealth. Bere Mau was the ancestor who established the rules for the distribution of sacrificial meat: a foreshank of meat is given to the core house of Elo Dasi in the west and another to the core house of Abo Ubun in the east to indicate that the two houses are now the "Masters of Speech" (that is, they have the power of speech and can therefore replace the chiefs in "unfolding the way of the ancestors"). In the collective rituals, the presence of these *Bei* is necessary even though their assistants (*oen no liman*: "legs and arms") act on their behalf.

The division of the community into east and west is apparent in all the collective rituals: the three core houses of the east (Abo Ubun, Oa Buti, and Mela Arus) are opposed to the three core houses of the west (Elo Dasi, Kebu Ubun, and Leas Ubun). As the Ema say, "the three chieftains cover and close the east, shade and close the west." This saying alludes to the central role of the

chieftains. The concept of closing can be clarified by an examination of the marriage alliances that unite the three core houses of the east, the three core houses of the west, and the three chiefly core houses (Lolo Ubun, Dasi Ubun, and Bere Ubun). These marriage alliances are best examined in terms of mother core houses, those that were founded earliest.

Members of the chiefly core houses cannot intermarry because they derive from the same line, that of Dato Telu. They can, however, form marriage alliances with the three core houses of the east, whose members are not allowed to marry among themselves. Members of Oa Buti and Mela Arus cannot intermarry because they too are from the same line, that of Uma Telu, and their houses are therefore considered a single house with a single set of marriage alliances. Abo Ubun core house and the Oa Buti and Mela Arus core houses have ritually established a relationship as elder/younger brothers. This prevents marriage between their members but allows Abo Ubun to have its own set of marriage alliances.

Similarly, the three chiefly core houses can form marriage alliances with the three core houses of the west. Members of these three core houses are not allowed to intermarry as well. Kebu Ubun and Leas Ubun consider themselves one house and so can neither intermarry nor contract separate marriage alliances; they too have ritually established a similar elder/younger brother relation with the Elo Dasi which forbids marriage alliance.

Furthermore, the three western core houses and the three eastern core houses have a ritually established elder/younger brother relationship so that they too cannot intermarry. Thus, three exogamous groups are formed: the three western core houses, the three eastern core houses, and the three chiefly core houses. A system of marriage alliances according to a four-partner cycle has been established between seven of these core houses, since Oa Buti and Mela Arus in the east and Kebu Ubun and Leas Ubun function as single houses sharing the same marriage alliances.

Figure 5.1A shows the circulation of women between the western and the chiefly core houses on the one hand and between the eastern and the chiefly core houses on the other hand in accordance with a four-partner cycle. Figure 5.1B shows the circulation of women between the western and the eastern core houses. This is again in accordance with a four-partner cycle, but one that operates in reverse order.

The role of the chiefly core houses is central since they control

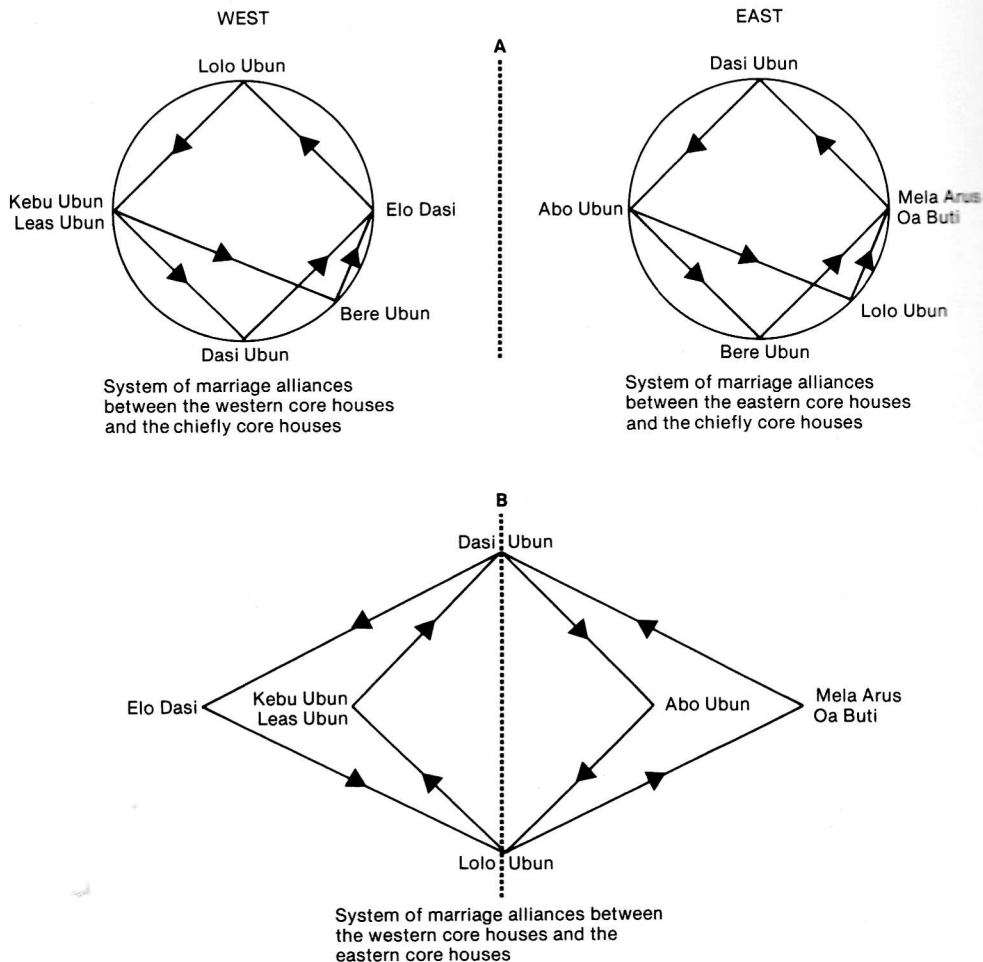


Figure 5.1. The four-partner cycle. Women move in the directions indicated by the arrows.

the circulation of women. No marriage can occur between the eastern core houses, between the western core houses, or between the eastern and the western core houses without going through the chiefly core houses.

Conclusion

The distinction between private and communal is fundamental to an understanding of the way in which Ema social organi-

zation operates. At the private level, this social organization consists of core houses that provide each individual with a name and a network of alliances. Through his core house, each person is involved in a series of relationships: a solidarity between elder/younger brothers and a cycle of exchange between wife-givers and wife-takers. This cycle is maintained through rituals performed in each house by the master of that house and his allies. Similarly, reciprocal ties define the relationship between the living and the dead in the private domain. The rituals and their accompanying animal sacrifices assure a good relationship with the dead, whose wishes are made known through various methods of divination. These rituals allow the living to receive from the dead all that benefits members of the group of elder/younger brothers and contributes to their survival.

At the communal level, on the other hand, this social organization is founded on a hierarchy of core houses. Collective rituals are performed by particular individuals for the community as a whole. Performed only in certain core houses and always according to a division of the community into east and west, these rituals involve no exchange of goods. However, if animals are sacrificed, the meat is divided among the core houses in accordance with their status. Each status is associated with a specific cut of meat.

A similar hierarchical structure characterizes the relationship of the living with the ancestors in the collective domain. Rituals are intended to renew the sacred time of the beginning of the community so that steeped, again, in its source, the community can perpetuate itself. These rituals repeat the actions of the first ancestors—the founders of the community—but they are now performed by actors totally removed from those mythical times. Conscious of their ignorance, these actors recognize their inferiority and adopt a humble attitude that contrasts with the relationship of reciprocity maintained between the living and the dead at the private level.

The private and the communal domains thus seem opposed to each other but, just as the life of each individual forms a whole whether he is viewed as a member of a core house or of a community, so too the actions and rituals that characterize these two levels of social organization can be interpreted according to a single system.

These oppositions refer to two different ways of living in time and space. In daily life and during private rituals, time is conceived of as being of short duration. The period that links a core

house to known ancestors covers three or four generations at most. Beyond this period, the only known ancestors are the founders of the core houses or the larger group formed by several core houses. These are the ancestors who played a part in organizing the community in its present form. Between the time of these founding ancestors and the time of the ancestors of the core houses, there is a gap in genealogy. This gap separates two time periods: the mythical time, which is recreated in communal rituals, and the recent past, which forms the reference point for private rituals.

A detailed study of the rituals that I have only touched on here shows that these two periods complement each other. The recent past is associated with the transmission of life via the vital energy released and recirculated at death while mythical time is associated with the source of vital energy which supplies "extra" life to reactivate the life cycle. Thus, at the private level, some rituals are intended to foster the reincarnation of the animals sacrificed either during funeral feasts or feasts celebrating the rebuilding of the core houses. The "souls" of these sacrificed animals are deposited in a sacred place, the *ai pun*, which serves as a passage between the world of the living and the world of the dead. Later, these souls are "attracted" to materialize in numerous living animals.

At the collective level, rituals do not foster the reincarnation of sacrificed animals, but rather attempt to obtain additional animals from the *Liurai* who has power over them and is their source. According to one myth, this *Liurai* originally ruled over Marobo but transmitted his power to the chieftains. Thus the Masters of Speech unfold the way of the ancestors after tracing on the ground the entrance of an enclosure made of betel leaves and rings of areca nut placed on a banana leaf.

Whereas in the private domain space is an elementary space occupied by the core house and adjacent to that of another core house, in the communal domain it represents a unity, a ritual whole opposed to the outside space occupied by people from other communities.

Beyond these differences, however, space, in both the private and the communal domains, is "centered": a core house is the "heart" of an elder/younger brother group, and core houses that share the same name are centered on a "mother" house that is considered the original core house. Mother core houses order themselves around chieftains, the core of the community. This concept of successively centered spaces confirms for the Ema of

Marobo that their territory and their community are located at the center of the "earth's navel," the sacred center from which everything originated and from which mankind peopled the earth.

6 Descent, Alliance, and Exchange Ideology among the Makassae of East Timor

Shepard Forman

IN THIS PAPER, I explore the cyclical relationship between marriage, birth, and death and their related rituals among the Makassae of east Timor. I suggest that exchange is the idiom of Makassae life, and that the continuity of alliance is deliberately marked and stressed in a series of highly elaborated and specifically obligatory mortuary exchanges which far outweigh more casual bridewealth negotiations in both their extent and their significance. By inference, I also suggest that important advances in the study of social process can be made by examining both the material and nonmaterial or ideological content of exchanges as they affect the quality and extent of social relationships in particular sociocultural contexts. In this case, I attempt a preliminary analysis of a set of ritual exchanges surrounding marriage and death. I examine the form and rate of flow of the material content of these exchanges as they pass between changing categories of kinsmen and I consider the consistent set of ideas that inform them. More specifically, I am concerned to show that the ideology which accompanies these exchanges is based on a set of beliefs about birth, death, and the cosmological order which is expressed both symbolically and sociologically in marital and mortuary rituals.

For the Makassae, continuity in life depends on the exchange

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of food and its means of production between wife-giving and wife-taking groups. Water buffalo, horses, and swords used to till the soil and produce rice are given as bridewealth; subsequently, cooked rice and pork, bead necklaces, and woven cloths accompany the woman when she is incorporated into her husband's lineage. The cooked food, the "child of Mother Earth," is transformed in the bodies of both husband and wife into "blood" and "sperm," the intermixing of which is the basis for successful reproduction. Reproduction, then, is ensured through lineage exogamy, that is, through the transfer of women and the cooked food (the "substance of life") that accompanies them in marriage. Food itself is produced through a homologous exchange of "blood" and "sperm" between Mother Earth and Father Sky. Production depends, nevertheless, on human action on the land. In the end, it is people who propagate both the earth and the lineage through exchange and alliance.

This fundamental belief, expressed in a wide range of myths and rituals, underwrites a series of marital alliances between wife-givers and wife-takers, the continuity of which is seemingly violated when any individual linking member dies. Death is not viewed as an end to life itself, however. Rather, it is, in terms of Makassae belief, an integral part of the process of life, one step in the natural sequence, one link in the chain. Exchange is the idiom of life—symbolically, ideologically, *and* pragmatically—and Makassae mortuary rituals respond, not to life itself, but to the apparent threat to continuity in that idiom. The death of an individual is celebrated in a series of rituals in which his descent group, acting as an intermediary between its own wife-givers and wife-takers, coordinates exchanges between them and effects significant death "payments" to the deceased's closest matrilineal kin.

In the course of marital negotiations, wife-givers and wife-takers face each other directly and join their respective offspring in the making or renewing of an alliance, the main purpose of which is consummation through childbirth. When someone dies, however, his descent group emerges to represent its own lineal self, theatrically mourning its loss while dramatically reasserting its pivotal role in the system of exchange and alliance. The emergence of the descent group at center stage in the immediate, obligatory, and relatively large mortuary exchanges is an overt statement that the system is supraindividual and that the bonds of unity remain strong. Descent is but the offspring of alliance, expressed in the idiom of exchange.

Makassae Social Structure and the Ideology of Exchange

The Makassae are non-Austronesian-language speakers who inhabit the rugged Mate Bian Mountain range (2,169 meters), high valleys, and coastal lowlands of the eastern part of the central region of east Timor. An ethnolinguistic group of approximately 80,000 people spread from the north to the south coast across three former Portuguese administrative districts,¹ the Makassae have a generally uniform complex of socioeconomic and politicocultural traditions that bear certain similarities to those of many other peoples in eastern Indonesia. Most conspicuous among these are *ikat* weaving techniques, colorful marketplaces, gory cockfights, and endless chewing—and spitting—of betel, areca, and lime. However, the economic pattern too is a familiar one, consisting primarily of the mixed cropping of maize, sweet potatoes, and root crops on swidden plots and the sculpturing of elaborate terraces for the cultivation of wet rice. Permanent gardens and rice fields are named, individually held, inheritable properties, access to which depends on affiliation (usually agnatic) with a patrilineally reckoned ancestral (clan) hearth (*ata nei uai*), a nucleated cluster of several lineage houses built in strikingly defensive positions high on rock-laden mountain abutments.² Pigs, goats, and chickens as well as horses and the ubiquitous water buffalo, both of which are used to work the rice fields, are raised for their value as livestock and as prized exchange goods and sacrificial animals. A variety of tropical fruit-bearing trees and palms tapped for their sweet wine are, like animals and land, held as individual property and transmitted agnatically. A woman can conceivably hold these in trust for her immature sons after her husband's death, but the trees will revert to his nearest lineal kinsman if she remarries outside his (her acquired) lineage.³

Descent, then, is patrilineal, and residence is almost universally patrilocal after a "reasonable" amount of bridewealth is paid.⁴ Although there is now a marked tendency toward residential dispersion in individuated garden homes, membership in and affinity with a named sacred lineage house (*oma bese*) are clearly recognized both within and without the house and are often used to locate a person in the Makassae social universe. A core of male agnates (whose precise genealogical connections are traceable through three or four generations to a founding ancestor who "planted" the house) and their wives and children compose the descent group (*sala fu*), which jointly maintains and, if necessary, rebuilds the sacred house under the supervi-



Vigil at a funeral: the *sala fu*, or "descent group" (Copyright © 1980 by Shepard Forman and Leona Forman)

sion of a lineage head (*nanai'e*—the term is a title of respect reserved for each house's senior member). Such a lineage house—built high on piles and in which jointly held sacred objects, personal wealth, and harvested crops are stored out of the reach of rats—and its associated sacred rock, tree, and ancestral burial ground are the focal points of all rituals, save those agricultural rites specifically geared to the productive process, that are conducted in the gardens and rice fields by their individual "owners." Theoretically, each lineage house has its own *Data Gi Gauaha* ("Guardian of the Myths and Traditions"), although a

ritual specialist—who is presumed to know the “correct” version for cognate houses, which share a common clan history—presides over the most important ritual events.⁵

This descent group structure is crosscut and preserved by a rather complex network of shifting affinal alliances between wife-givers (*oma rahe*: “house that spreads its branches like a shade tree”) and wife-takers (*tufu mata*: “little sister” or “sister’s child”). An ideology of MBD marriage for the eldest son—“in order not to destroy the origins”—is said to have been supported in the past by a system of stiff fines for violators.⁶ More recently, however, the imposition of a Christian ethic by Catholic missionaries and the widening compass of choice in an increasingly open socioeconomic system have reduced the number of these marriages to statistical insignificance. What remain are simply the negative rules, which require lineage exogamy (stated in positive terms of the mixing of bloods and expressed in a food-exchange idiom: “You cannot eat your own food again!”) and the exclusion of daughters of immediate, or “real,” wife-taking lineages from the group from which a man is allowed to choose a spouse (stated in terms of the loss that occurs when bridewealth is passed back).⁷

Although alliance is conceived of and discussed in inclusive lineage terms, the Makassae distinguish clearly between real (*heto*) and classificatory (*ga’a uali*: “to hear from afar”) wife-givers and wife-takers. A man’s actual wife-givers include the agnatic kin of his mother and of his brothers’ and sons’ spouses as well as the lineage from which his own spouse is chosen. His real wife-takers include the agnatic kin of the husbands of his father’s sisters, his sisters, and his daughters. As figure 6.1 shows, the wife-givers and wife-takers of the other members of a man’s lineage, unless shared through the accident of marital choice, are included in a category of classificatory affines, with whom a special, but relatively minimal (compared with actual wife-givers and wife-takers), set of obligations and expectations apply. Thus, for example, contributions to bridewealth payments may be and are obtained from FZ’s or Z’s husband’s lineages, which may and usually do draw on their own wife-takers’ resources in turn. However, a man may not call directly on a patrilateral parallel cousin’s affinal kin. Similarly, a man is obliged to participate in and contribute to mortuary exchanges for his father’s wife-givers, but his obligations to his father’s brothers’ wife-givers are fewer. Put somewhat differently, a man is expected to contribute a buffalo, a horse, and five goats as a

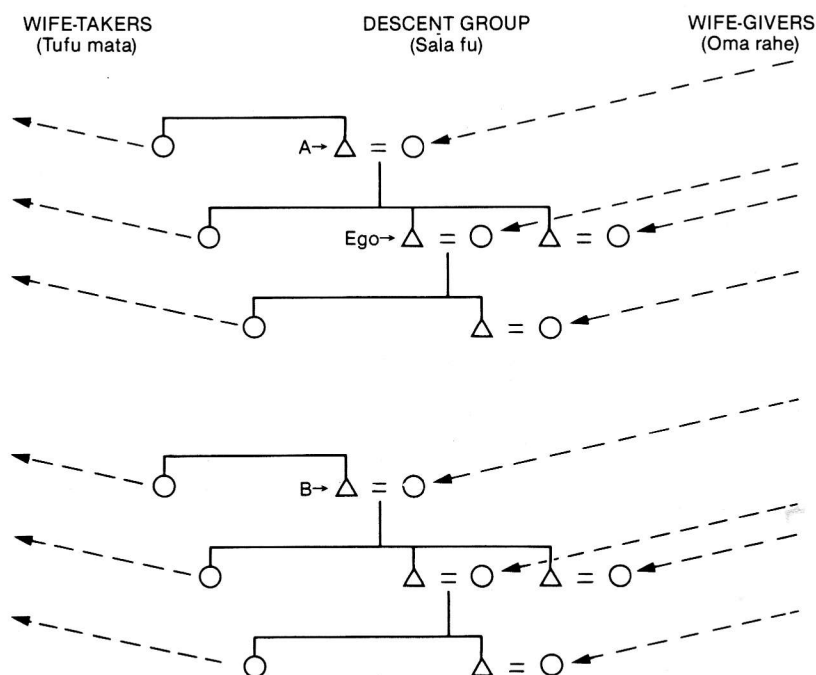


Figure 6.1. Structure of Makassae affinal exchange relationships. Members of the descent group, or *sala fu*, are indicated by the symbols in the center column. A and B are siblings, and their real wife-givers and wife-takers are designated by broken lines. B's wife-givers and wife-takers are Ego's classificatory affines.

mortuary payment to his dead father-in-law's mother's brother, whereas the deceased's brother's daughter's husband is asked for only a single goat.

Social relations between certain classes of kinsmen are constrained by the ideology of exchange which declares that "if you do not give, you are not a human being (*to anu lafu*)." By specifying the nature of the obligations exactly, this ideology prevents requests from being directed only at those who have the most visible resources, and at the same time it ritually draws attention to those affines for whom the deceased was the enduring social link.⁸ This, in turn, presupposes a system far more subtle and complex than one based on a uniform structure of exchange between wife-givers and wife-takers, which provides simply for continuity in an ongoing system of alliance between them. It is critical to note that among the Makassae the content,

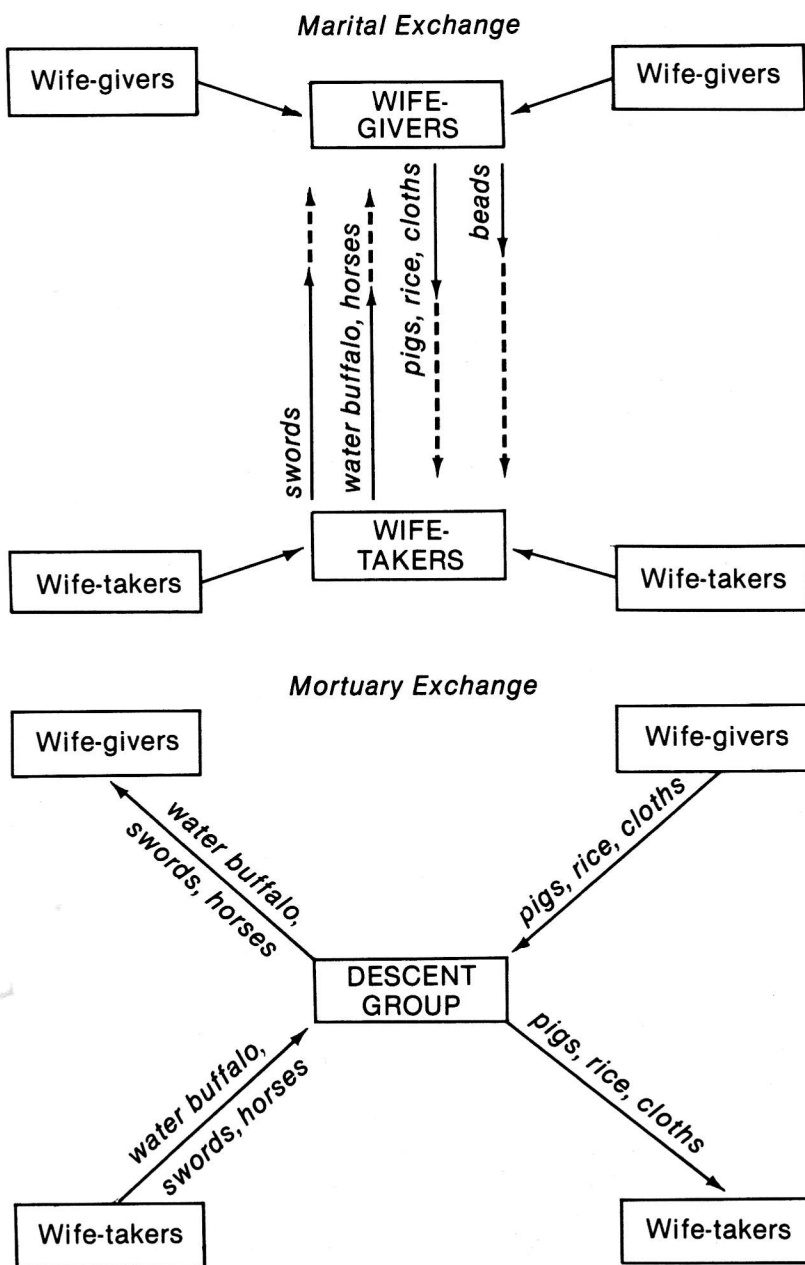


Figure 6.2. The structure of Makassae marital and mortuary exchanges. Time of "payment" is represented by arrows; arrows attached to solid lines refer to a faster rate of payment, and ones to broken lines a slower rate. Arrows attached to diagonal lines in marital exchanges refer to the process of accumulation of goods to be exchanged, for example, wife-takers calling on their own wife-takers for contributions.

form, rate, and flow of exchanges between wife-givers and wife-takers differ significantly in marital and mortuary exchanges (see figure 6.2)—even though the ideology is consistent across the entire range of exchange. In the course of marital negotiations, wife-givers and wife-takers face each other directly in one-way conversations that lead to agreement on the amounts, if not the timing, of bridewealth payments which may or may not be completed; but, in either event, there are often long delays between transfers. In mortuary exchanges, on the other hand, the descent group emerges as an intermediary; its spokesman demands and gets—after a round of initial protestations—the promise of immediate transfers of livestock, which he coordinates as food exchanges between his own wife-givers and wife-takers. At the same time, he makes a significant payment of buffalo, horses, and swords, obtained from the deceased's wife-takers (FZ), to the dead man's MB lineage or to the dead woman's brother's or father's lineage. It is precisely at the intersection of the beliefs that support this exchange ideology, the symbolic expression of those beliefs in ritual, and the sociology of exchange that we are most likely to find the key to understanding the Makassae social system.

The Meaning of Marital Exchange

For the Makassae, the point of marriage is to "join together the force of our veins." This statement suggests the power of alliance in politicoeconomic terms and also the fundamental belief that life is perpetuated through the mixing of two bloods and two "sperms"—both of which can be found in male and female bodies. This bipartite schema is apparent in the two-layered system of primary and secondary marital exchanges.

In the case of primary exchange, referred to literally as "the value of the woman" (*tufuræ gi ira*), wife-givers demand a fixed number of buffalo, horses, and old Makassar swords in order "to open the door"; the payment of all or a significant part of the requested goods results in the eventual incorporation of the woman into her husband's lineage. The amount of bridewealth is usually determined by the amount of the bridewealth paid for the bride's mother and grandmother rather than by the wife-taker's resources.⁹ After the young couple have declared their matrimonial intentions by sleeping together at the woman's house, the spokesmen for the two lineage houses (usually the senior member of each) are asked to negotiate the bridewealth.¹⁰ After these discussions, initiated by the wife-givers at the wife-

takers' house, the number of animals and swords agreed on is counted out in pebbles and maize niblets and retained as accounts by the spokesmen. It is a mark of the superiority of the wife-givers that they set the tone for these discussions, making demands that wife-takers, under constraint not to ask for anything in return, can only argue cannot be met. These demands are often given more force by the appearance of the bride in an orange bead necklace, the *gaba*, which may or may not be given to the wife-takers when the bridewealth has been paid in full. Once substantial bridewealth payments have been made, a ceremony of incorporation, called the *rai uara* ("call to come out"), takes place. During this ceremony, the couple, shouldering woven cloths given to them by the bride's parents, accompany the bridegroom's mother to the groom's lineage house. They are followed several days later by the bride's parents, who come "to cover over her footsteps" (*ilu uai safe la'a*) and to present a roasted pig and cooked rice to their wife-takers.

The bead necklace that the bride wears when she appears during bridewealth negotiations may serve as bait for a secondary contract, the *bou gau boba gau* ("for the brother, for the father"). Requiring an additional exchange of a sword, a horse, a buffalo, and a gold disc for beads and cloth, it may be initiated by either wife-givers or wife-takers if and when the bridewealth payments are completed. These objects of wealth move in the same direction as they do in the primary exchanges, but secondary contracts generally do not include the transfer of cooked food and thus are of minor symbolic concern.¹¹ They are intended primarily to obtain the necessary wealth for the bride's brother's own bridewealth payments. It is, in fact, at this point that the asymmetry, such as it is in the system, breaks down, for every wife-giver is wife-taker in relation to someone else.

Beyond this seemingly straightforward transfer of wealth from wife-takers to wife-givers and the subsequent—and expected—return gift, however, Makassae marriage also comprehends a sociological and symbolic exchange of women and food for work animals. This exchange is a statement about the extension of life through agricultural production and sexual reproduction. Life, for the Makassae, is created through the meeting and mixing of two bloods (*uai*) and two sperms (*uai buti*: "white blood"); both blood and sperm are produced in bodies, both male and female, by the transformation of food, particularly rice and pork. Food, alternately seen as the flesh of Mother Earth and as her children, is made to grow by the complemen-

tary actions of dew (Father Sky's sperm) and rain (his blood).¹² Agricultural production too depends on the meeting and mixing of male and female white and red bloods. According to the Makassae, dew (*uru moi/ua rira*) enters plants through their leaves and mingles with the moisture produced by the decay of our dead bodies, which when buried return to Mother Earth's womb, thereby giving life to root crops, maize, rice, and coconut and filling their fruits with liquid and making them grow.¹³ Blood flows in rivulets (also called "uai"), the veins of Mother Earth, to the sea. There, male and female bloods unite and rise to the clouds, before returning to earth as life-giving rain. In still another personification heavy in symbolic implications, mountain springs are viewed as Mother Earth's breasts, at which all living things suckle. But it is blood and sperm, rain and dew, together that produce all life. They make plants grow, plants which are eaten for strength and which are transformed into the sperm and blood necessary to produce children. The fetus, always a potential in the woman, is created during sexual intercourse by the uniting of the man's white blood and the woman's "good" red blood, the blood that remains after the "bad" blood is expelled during menstruation.

This Makassae conceptualization of the "chain of life" is expressed in a number of agricultural rituals held in the fields at the time of planting and harvesting and is extended logically as a social statement in support of lineage exogamy in rituals surrounding life crises. Thus, for example, the gift of cooked rice and meat, intended to ensure human fertility, is likewise offered to Mother Earth and Father Sky, the progenitors of a bountiful harvest and, consequently, of all life. It is during these rituals—especially during the simultaneous enactment of agricultural and mortuary rituals within the ancestral hearth—that Makassae ideas about production and reproduction are most closely linked with their ideas about alliance and descent.

Nevertheless, the primary exchange of bridewealth is the clearest statement of these conceptions. At the most mundane level, the buffalo and horses (the animals that work jointly with the groom's parents) are said to be exchanged for rice and pork (the labor of the woman). The cattle are intended as payment to the bride's father for his efforts in producing food for his daughter from her infancy until her marriage; these animals are "for the damage done to your fingernails and toenails," he is told. The bride's mother, on the other hand, is asked to accept a pregnant (or at least a young female) buffalo as "warm water for a

parched throat" (a reference to the rice porridge which was prepared for the bride's mother by her own mother-in-law on the birth of her child). The reproductive cycle is clearly invoked as the basis for these marital exchanges, which, in effect, are said to take place in order to affirm publicly that "Nature has already joined a couple." The cooked rice and roasted pig offered by the wife-givers ceremonially mark the inclusion of their daughter in a wife-taking lineage and are said to be the "rest" of the white and red bloods, which her parents send along to "complete" her so that she can and will bear children.¹⁴

The gaba placed around the bride's neck when her parents believe their wife-takers have shown sufficient strength in both the quantity and the timing of bridewealth, is called the *gi kida gi toka* ("spindle and cotton basket"). The bride takes it along so that she can "weave for her husband." The *kola* and *rabi*, cloths worn by the groom and the bride over their shoulders during the incorporation ceremony, are also offered as the "rest of the woman" (*tufuræ gi resi*), and they symbolize the cloths into which the bride was born and in which she was carried when small.¹⁵ It is noteworthy in terms of continuity that she drops her cloth over her back onto the ground as she follows her husband into his lineage house, where that night they will sleep together before moving back to his garden home. Her mother-in-law picks up the cloth, drapes it over her own shoulder, tells the bride to kick the threshold as she enters, and then, following the couple, climbs the bamboo steps to the house and engages in a silent betelchew; her own husband waits beneath the house.

This ritualized betelchew seems to be a metaphor for the ridding of bad blood during menstruation, an event that the Makassae say must occur if a woman is to secure a fetus. Menstrual blood and "sick" blood (such as that spit by tuberculars) are referred to by the Makassae as *malu gi ira* ("red juice of the betelchew"). While betel is casually chewed by most adults for its taste and also as an important focus of social interaction, the timing and occurrence of its ritual use in a variety of life crises, viewed in conjunction with Makassae beliefs about the role of menstruation in reproduction, suggest that the betelchew is a necessary prelude to symbolic birth as well. It is more than incidental that betel is chewed and spit during the husking ceremony to ensure that the rice storage basket (*dofe*) "fills out" before it is placed in the lineage house. One possible interpretation is that the sacred lineage house is the "female" presence of the patrilineage, the "mother" of its offspring.¹⁶ In addition to

anything else it might suggest, however, the gesture of exchange between the bride and her mother-in-law emphasizes the bond between two women who entered the house in the same way.

It is significant that the food-exchange ritual that marks human birth is celebrated in a minor key. It is geared more to the symbolic tie between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law than to the conception of life itself, which is symbolized in the course of marital exchanges. The marital negotiations themselves are called in Makassae *bura kesi* ("the threading together of the cloth"—a *kesi* is the spine of a lontar-palm leaf and is used to secure a weaving while the weft is passed through). The mother-in-law wears a *kesi* when she draws water for her daughter-in-law's rice porridge after childbirth, a private affair between the two women that involves total silence until the rice is cleaned and the porridge served. At that point, the mother-in-law removes the *kesi*, hangs it in the doorway, and begins to speak to her daughter-in-law before they engage together in a betelchew. The food is obviously intended to give the woman strength after her labor, to replenish her white and red bloods, the bad part of which is symbolically expelled in the betelchew. The *kesi* itself may simply express the bond woven between two women, both of whom produced offspring for their "adopted" lineage house.

The Meaning of Mortuary Exchange

If life requires explanation in terms of a set of beliefs, death demands one even more. Ideas that enable people to cope with its constant threat abound across a wide range of cultures. What is particularly interesting about these ideas is that virtually all of them reject finality. Whether they involve a belief in life after death, reincarnation, lingering souls, or death's providing the substance of new life, these ideas about death everywhere seem to stress continuity in one form or another. Makassae funerary and mortuary rituals are both a sociological and a symbolic statement to that effect. Sociologically, they affirm unequivocally that the alliances, which gave birth to life, do not end when their linking members die. Symbolically, they remind the Makassae that death threatens the idiom of life-giving exchanges and, therefore, perhaps life itself in its broadest sense.

Death for the individual is final, but even in its finality it contributes to an ongoing process. For example, the soul is said to die seven times in as many years and to be reburied six times by its fellow souls before ascending to the clouds. There, as spirits

(*umurai*), they hover together around the crest of Mate Bian Mountain or "run beneath the sky," forever within calling distance of the living so that they may exercise their own wants and exact a measure of social control over their living descendants.¹⁷ The body is committed when buried to the womb of Mother Earth, where it immediately begins to decay and ultimately forms new life.¹⁸ But here death is a counterpoint to life and is not given direct form through nourishment. Rather, the body's rotting flesh is transformed into moisture, which rises to the clouds to return to earth as dew (Father Sky's sperm), becomes Mother Earth's own sperm, or dries as "blood" to be united with Father Sky's sperm as it falls to and seeps into the ground as rain. The unitary theme of these three explanations is, of course, that male and female blood and sperm are exchanged in the process of death to continue the chain of life.

Life-giving exchanges are part of all Makassae funerary and mortuary rituals. They are somewhat understated at the time of burial but are quite marked in the course of the culminating ceremony, the *umu gini* (the "making of the dead"). For the Makassae, the funeral is only the first in a series of death exchanges which ideally occur within seven years' time, to correspond with the steps in the ascension of the soul. However, they often take several generations to complete. Children who die unnamed, suicides, victims of homicides, those who die by falling from a tree, and witches are all buried far from the ancestral hearth in a single ceremony which separates them spatially and spiritually from the living.¹⁹ An "ordinary" death, however, initiates a series of ritual obligations at the ancestral hearth and its proximate gravesites that must be fulfilled if the descendants themselves are to live and prosper. The funeral, simple but dramatic, is only the first act, then, in a prolonged dispatch of the dead, which serves as an explicit model for the living.

On the death of any man, woman, or child, members of the deceased's lineage house are sent to announce their loss to all who might wish to come and mourn, particularly to those wife-givers and wife-takers who are expected to participate directly in the ritual exchanges that must accompany the burial. The funeral itself (in the past held over seven days but recently reduced to two or three because of exorbitant license fees required by the Portuguese) is to the beholder an odd mix of tragedy and business of the day. Natal women stopping to wail at the bier momentarily punctuate the otherwise casual mood of feasting and jocular card playing that marks the nightly vigil around the

cloth-draped coffin under the lineage house. With the arrival of each group of wife-takers and wife-givers, the deceased's descent group demands an accounting of exchange goods, which are supposed to and usually do arrive before the burial takes place. The rest of their time is spent coordinating the slaughter of animals for sacrifices to their ancestral spirits, cooking food for affines, and gathering together the all-important prestations to be made to the dead man's MB's lineage. The timing of the burial, geared to the receipt of these death payments, often causes considerable bickering and occasionally even fistfights among lesser lineage figures, while the senior members of the lineage houses involved are busily exacting contributions from their own affines before agreeing on a timetable for delivery. The deceased's real wife-takers are asked to bring a buffalo, a horse, and five goats each; classificatory wife-takers are expected to bring only a single goat. The buffalo and horses, and occasionally some swords, are for the dead man's MB or for his closest representative kinsman, who stands defiantly at the gravesite to prevent burial until his payment is assured. This transfer, called *mana toe mana kauru* ("dig the hole, scratch out the dirt"), is said to be a payment to the earth, but recalls, in the nature of its overt demand, the bridewealth specified before a woman enters her adopted lineage house. It is, in fact, sometimes referred to as the "bridewealth of the dead," the significant difference being that the *mana toe mana kauru* is paid in full and without delay on the morning of the burial. The entire payment received, the contributing wife-takers are fed rice and meat of one or two roasted mature pigs brought by the dead person's MB's lineage (as in the lineage-incorporation feast) and the meat of several small pigs offered by the descent group's other wife-givers. These wife-givers in turn are fed the meat of goats brought by the descent group's wife-takers. It is important to note that buffalo-and-goat for pig-and-rice exchanges are carefully programmed by the descent group, which ensures that the wife-takers eat first and that the ritual prohibitions on eating one's own food are strictly adhered to. That is, wife-takers may not eat the meat of the buffalo or the goat that they have brought to repay the labors of the deceased's matrilineal kin, nor may wife-givers partake of the pork and rice that they have given, lest the groups consume their own life-giving substance; and this, the Makassae believe, would lead to illness.

The actual burial, wedged as it is between food exchanges and other rituals clearly oriented toward the living, has its emotive

aspect. In the first light of the sun on the morning of the burial, a divination (the *asa sei*) is held: the head is cut off a chicken, its body left to writhe and come to rest atop one or another of a circle of stones that bear the names of the lineage houses or spirits that might be responsible for the death; once the "guilty" party is identified, the deceased's lineage must be propitiated by a further sacrifice. The *asa sei* performed, the women of the lineage begin to wail in earnest; and the male kinsmen initiate prolonged discussions with their affines about the quality of relations among themselves, especially as the relations bore on the deceased, and about the possible motives of the ancestor spirit in creating the condition that caused the death. The wailing continues throughout the day—even while the wife-takers eat the pig and rice prepared by the deceased's descent group—reaching a crescendo in the late afternoon, when the burial finally takes place. As the men carry the coffin, secured at head and foot with two lengths of cotton weaving yarn—earlier in the day yarn was also looped seven times around the deceased's fingers and toes—the women, wending their way through the woods, hang on trees, thrash about on the ground, and pull out weeds in an awesome tribute to their departing loved one.²⁰ When the coffin is finally placed in the ground, a thorny branch and the leaves of a cotton plant are passed over the coffin seven times to "sweep out the souls of the living." Several handfuls of dirt are thrown into the hole; then the wife and/or the daughters of the deceased approach the grave and, turning their backs to it, brush into the hole from their left heel "any and all illness and evil" before moving silently in the direction of their own households without looking back. Then, as if in haste to beat the setting sun, the people remaining hurriedly push, kick, and throw dirt, sand, and stones into the grave. The body has been dispatched, but not the soul; nor have the kinsmen's obligations to Mother Earth and Father Sky or to one another been completely fulfilled.

The grave filled, a sword representing the long knife used to cut the tree for the coffin and the weeds at the gravesite is laid on the center of the grave, and the hands of the gravediggers and morticians are washed above it with "lactiferous" spring water to encourage Mother Earth to permit the trees and weeds to grow again. Next, a chicken for the gravediggers and morticians to eat is bludgeoned on a rock above the grave; and a dry twig is placed on the grave, only to be removed once the final sacrifice of a pig or buffalo has been made, ideally the next morning. That

evening, the children of the lineage, now referred to as orphans, are ceremoniously fed cooked rice (*gi lafu*), the substance of life, brought by the deceased's wife-givers and prepared by the deceased's descent group. The blood and sperm of the lineage thus recouped, the Guardian of the Myths and Traditions quietly returns alone to the gravesite at midnight to perform a ritual known as *koro laini*. He places seven pieces of pig liver and some rice on a small platform on the grave and makes six passes with his right foot before kicking the platform over with his left. Intended to feed both Mother Earth and the soul of the deceased as it begins its journey, this offering is perhaps the most explicit statement in the funerary ritual about the cyclical relationship between life and death.

Early the next morning, the wife-givers and wife-takers having returned to their respective homes, a pig or a buffalo is sacrificed. While a kettle drum is beaten seven times, the chest and tongue of the animal are removed and given raw as payment to the Guardian of the Myths and Traditions and to the *InalBoba* ("Mother/Father"). This hermaphroditic superparent of the lineage supervises the slaughter of the uncooked animal and its division among members of the descent group, thereby emphasizing the symbolic value of an affine's cooked rice and pork. As a final act, seven pieces of the uncooked meat are laid on a flat stone on the grave to accompany the soul on its journey of seven deaths, while the agnatic kinsmen reaffirm for themselves the continuity of life through alliance. The Guardian of the Myths and Traditions leads off with a sacred refrain: "Everyone has to die. Death is with us." Two affinal women members of the lineage house embrace each other and respond: "We do not die all at once, but one by one."

The obligatory mortuary exchanges are intensified and made explicit several years after burial in a ceremony called *manu taba dane* ("give to the grave"), a prelude to the all-important *umu gini*, the making of the dead. During the *manu taba dane*, the descent group once again coordinates, as drums and gongs are beaten, the transfer of buffalo, horses, swords, pigs, rice, and cloths between the deceased's wife-givers and wife-takers in a highly ritualized series of exchanges. Although essentially the same kinds of goods continue to flow between wife-givers and wife-takers in the same direction as they do in marital and funerary exchanges, it is significant that the *manu taba dane* is undertaken only if the deceased's real MB's lineage exists. Moreover, the descent group, acting only as an intermediary in these

exchanges, keeps nothing for itself. Like the funerary exchange, the *manu taba dane* is expressed in an idiom of payment to the earth for preparation of the corpse. That this ceremony includes the same kinds of exchange goods that are part of secondary marriage contracts suggests that it is far more than a symbolic gesture to the dead. Wealth or poverty among the Makassae is calculated in terms of the number of real affines on whom a man can call. A poor man whose MB's lineage has died out is seldom, if ever, the center of mortuary exchanges, nor is the making of the dead, the *umu gini*, performed for him.

It is in the simultaneous enactment of ceremonies involving the preparation of sacred rice and the ultimate dispatch of the dead, the *umu gini*, that Makassae ideas about production and reproduction, alliance and descent effectively come together. Intended to propitiate a major lineage figure by helping his soul to make the last of its seven journeys, the making of the dead involves only the capping of the ancestral tomb with a large flat rock on which sacrificial meat and sacred rice are offered to him and to Mother Earth.²¹ In effect, however, the making of the dead comprises a set of related rituals, during which the deceased's agnatic kinsmen plant, harvest, and prepare the sacred rice and drag the gravestone into place while his affines gather on the outskirts of the ancestral hearth to prepare for their part in the actual dispatch ceremonies. The nearly exclusive actions of the descent group in the preparatory agricultural rites are a sociological and symbolic complement to the highly ritualized participation of the dead man's wife-givers and wife-takers in the elaborate set of exchanges that accompany the making of the dead.

The preparations for the making of the dead, held conspicuously at the time of rice harvest, actually begin with the sowing of a quantity of purely symbolic sacred rice in the deceased's fields by his heirs. In a beautiful ceremony high on the ancient mountain terraces, two groups of kinsmen, all members of the descent group, face each other on a rock that represents Mother Earth and under a tree that represents Father Sky. The Guardian of the Myths and Traditions and the deceased's agnates stand under the tree and respond to the provocative verse of their affinal women and collateral kinsmen, who crowd together on the rock while two young married males scatter the seed between them in a configuration that is metaphorically and manifestly reproductive. From the rock, the invitation comes:

Kokodele ma mia uru dete rai! Sow the rice with the moon!

And the tree warns:

Dete rai gi dofe lebe dula lene. Sow it badly and you store an empty basket.

The sexual symbolism is made quite explicit when, several months later as the rice stalks begin to rise above the flooded fields, a stalk of sugar cane is silently but forcefully thrust into Mother Earth in front of the vigil stone used for sacrifices in the field. It is at this same vigil stone that the sacrifices attending the *resa gi lubu toili* are made. This ceremony is an anxious ritual entreaty to the rice stalks to stay erect just as the kernels are about to appear.²²

Once the sacred rice has ripened and has been harvested, it is ritually transformed into sperm (*uai buti*) during seven nights of threshing and seven days of pounding. These rites, known respectively as the *resa teda* ("tread threshing") and the *oso lolo* ("pounding of the sacred rice"), are performed first in the fields, where human action is brought to bear on the fertility of Mother Earth, and then at the ancestral hearth, where the deceased's wife-givers and wife-takers gather to fulfill the exigencies of exchange in the provisioning of the substance of life. Indeed, the preparation of the sacred rice begins only after seven descendants of the deceased, including the actual senior member of the lineage and its Guardian of the Myths and Traditions, are fed pork and rice, brought by the deceased's MB's lineage, in a specially built threshing hut near the vigil stone. The offering of the same pork and rice to Mother Earth and Father Sky on a makeshift altar in the hut not only ensures a plentiful yield but also recalls the importance of these life-giving exchanges in beliefs about agricultural production as well.

Although the actual process of transforming rice to sperm is conducted solely by members of the deceased's descent group, the importance of alliance (particularly the productive and reproductive roles played by women who have married into the lineage) is emphasized by women's participation in several critical phases. Thus, for example, before the actual threshing can proceed, one elderly in-marrying kinswoman leads seven descendants of the deceased, who have just been fed the wife-giver's rice and pork, in a run around the waiting stack of rice;

they all shout as they go to scare away the spirits, who otherwise might consume it, and stop after completing each full circle to spit the telltale betel, while the Guardian of the Myths and Traditions implants the ground with the lineage house's sacred spear. Rid of its impurities, the rice is then joyously tread-threshed to the accompaniment of a sacred song-of-plenty sung by the young men of the lineage, who leap and sway in unison in the powerful dance form known as the *resa teda*.

Save for this initial matinee, which some informants have suggested is a collective ejaculatory act, the *resa teda* is always done at night. The male and female participants are drawn at random and their improvised ballads are the stuff that folktales are made from. For the next seven days, the *resa teda* alternates with its daylight complement, the *oso lolo* (which the participants themselves quite explicitly describe as the "making of sperm"). Since sexual encounters among the Makassae ideally take place only at night, it is not surprising that the first performance of the rice-pounding ceremony—the symbolic penetration of Mother Earth—occurs after dark, immediately after the sacred rendering of the *resa teda*. Although anyone may participate at will in the rice pounding on subsequent afternoons, when a variety of secular work songs are sung, the initial performance is quite formalized and restricted to certain lineage elders. Specific verses that recount the common origin of the lineages and their subsequent dispersion are sung. As if to state again their generative role in the lifeline of the lineage, two elderly in-marrying women secure pestles. These pestles are said to represent penises and are fashioned from bamboo whose source and specifications are stated in song. They position themselves on either side of an ancient oblong "female" mortar—brought from a neighboring district precisely for this occasion, just as they themselves were brought for the consummation of their marriages. These women pound the earth on which the mortar lies and then the sacred rice in the mortar according to instructions sung by the Guardian of the Myths and Traditions and the lineage head, who stand erectly at either end and sing:

Ala sifa ala sae do dane dane.
Ala sifa ala sae nama dane dane.
Minigali dane isi koe falu tafa.

Minigali dane isi resa falu tafa.

Grab the pestle and lift it high.
 Grab the pestle and lift it up.
 Bring it down again to pound the
 sacred kernel.
 Bring it down again to pound the
 sacred rice.

When the sacred verses have been sung and the rice has been transformed into sperm, the four lineage elders—two men and two women—engage in a silent betelchew to prepare themselves for the reenactment of life. In the *resa teda* and *oso lolo*, the descent group have created the substance of life and now, as they dispatch the soul of their progenitor, they reenact the alliances that make their own being possible. The vigorous chewing and spitting of betel during the threshing ceremonies are intended to ensure that the storage basket (the *dofe*) fills out before it is placed in the sacred lineage house.²³ This chewing and spitting, like the betelchew required of mother-in-law and daughter-in-law at marriage and childbirth, symbolize the expulsion of bad blood during menstruation which allows pregnancy to occur. If the idea is accepted that the sacred lineage house is the female presence of the patrilineage, the mother of its offspring, it is appropriate that the ritual threshing and pounding of rice—the making of sperm—is the exclusive purview of the descent group. Not incidentally, the descent group makes much ado about carrying the pounded rice (the sperm) to the lineage house where the group members are joined by both their actual and their ancestral marriage partners.

If the transformation of sacred rice into sperm is directed at subsequent exchanges in the ancestral hearth, however, then the earlier elaboration of sexual symbolism in the agricultural rites in the fields requires some explanation, lest the attempts at penetration of Mother Earth appear entirely gratuitous. It is interesting that man's ritual actions upon the earth apply precisely to that juncture in the productive process where Makassae beliefs cannot adequately explain the event. According to their conceptual system, agricultural growth, like human reproduction, requires the meeting and mixing of male and female bloods and sperms. This is accounted for ritually by the offerings of pork and rice to Mother Earth and Father Sky. What is absent from the belief system but stressed in the rituals is a notion of the genesis of the agricultural product itself.²⁴ In terms of Makassae belief, a dead man's decaying body contributes to the growth of new life. In pragmatic terms, the fields must be dug and planted. Father Sky does not penetrate Mother Earth; rather, men till the soil. Father Sky does not impregnate Mother Earth; men sow seeds. The dual orientation to field and hearth thus offers the Makassae the key to productive organization and to new life.²⁵ That this occurs in conjunction with mortuary rituals suggests that it is precisely in the face of death that life re-

quires affirmation. The rites for the preparation of sacred rice, which are performed in the ancestral paddies, link human action with agricultural production and remind the Makassae that the fertility of Mother Earth can be brought to fruition only by human intervention. These rites also tie the product of human labor specifically to the reenactment of the dead man's own marital alliance and, consequently, to the line of descent itself.

The threshing and pounding done and the sacred rice transformed into sperm and stored in the lineage house, the members of the descent group gather by the gravestone, which is now in place on the ancestral tomb. From opposite directions, the deceased's wife-givers and wife-takers, singing about the movement of women in relation to the descent group in the process of exchange and alliance, enter the ancestral hearth. As if to say that the transformation of the sacred rice into sperm is in itself inutile, they sweep aside the rice husks with their feet as they go. (This act lends its name to a ceremony, the *safe ruso*, "to sweep and sing"). Moving slowly toward the tomb, the FZ's lineage bespeak the wife-takers' offer:

Arabau meli meli gi ualikasa ara- Choose the buffalo's ear!
bau.

Keeping their distance from the tomb, the MB's lineage respond by recounting the advantages of the wife-givers' gift:

Bae seu lola uli momala. The meat, flesh, and skin of the
pig is soft.

Finally, positioning themselves with the descent group around their brother-in-law's grave, the FZ's lineage members lament the marrying out of a natal woman:

Arabau lasi u uli geli. The buffalo skin is hard to cut.
Uai roko meli meli gi ualikasa ara- Sisterless men choose the buf-
bau. falo's ear.

Then, as if to relive the making of the specific alliance, a female representative of the deceased's FZ's lineage ties a goat, in lieu of a buffalo, to the house post and, taking a sword to leave above the door, goes into the lineage house; there she touches a pinch of the sacred rice to her throat and engages in a silent betelchew before returning to her place beside the descent group. The act is, of course, superficially reminiscent of the ritual of

childbirth, save that the mother-in-law is absent and the rice porridge ("warm water for a parched throat") is not actually consumed. Moreover, not the kesi but a sword (which together with the goat represents the FZ's initial contribution to the deceased's own bridewealth payment) is hung above the door. Significantly, a daughter of the dead person's MB's lineage then climbs the stairs to the sacred house, removes the sword from the doorway, and comes down. She, however, does not join the descent group but takes the goat and silently moves away, as if to emphasize deliberately that incorporation has not yet taken place. The incompleteness of the marital tie and its implications for the future of the descent line are clearly recognized. While his FZ's lineage beats on the communal drum, the Guardian of the Myths and Traditions sings a seven-verse song of a bountiful harvest, which ends:

<i>Malu laa Loi Lari gua nada bere.</i>	Betel grows high on the vine at Loi Lari.
<i>Aria nai sae lo nini nana?</i>	Who will give the orphan betel now?

At this point, as if to make note of their own vitality, members of the FZ's lineage ostentatiously engage in a second betelchew.

The idea that alliance is strength, that sisters must be married off in order to acquire the resources to obtain wives, is given credence in the actual performance of the making of the dead ritual. Repeating the earlier funerary statement about the cyclical relationship between life and death, descent group members erect on the gravestone an enlarged replica of the platform on which are offerings of meat and rice. This time, however, the Guardian of the Myths and Traditions does not descend alone to the gravesite at midnight, but is joined on top of the tomb by an elderly kinswoman who married into the lineage and whose affiliation is now made clear. Together they cut a coconut in half, pour its life-giving waters (the dew from Father Sky) over the tomb, and pass its husk among all the wife-taking groups present. These wife-takers pledge money and swords to help the descent group complete its exchange obligations and pay for the costly dispatch ceremony. Reassured, the Guardian of the Myths and Traditions and his kinswoman make six passes at the platform from opposite directions before meeting and kicking it over together on the seventh pass. The tomb capped off and the sacrifice made, the ancestral soul, whose descendants are ready

to reaffirm their place in the present, is now prepared to ascend to the realm of the spirits.

The descendants immediately begin roasting a pig for their departed ancestor's wife-takers to eat with the sacred rice brought from the lineage house. In effect, this act is a declaration that the reciprocal obligations between these wife-givers and wife-takers will continue to be fulfilled. The ancestor's wife-givers indicate their willingness to pursue their own alliance by grilling the goat brought to them by the descent group's ancestral wife-takers. Reminding the descent group that its own life-giving substance must be obtained through alliance, the wife-takers also deposit three baskets of uncooked rice and three of cooked rice in the lineage house and await the coordination of additional exchanges between the descent group's wife-givers and wife-takers. The interrelationship of these sets of alliances is stressed the next morning: the descent group open a second coconut, feed small pieces of its flesh to each of their wife-takers (who are called by name in a vivid reminder of the previous day's pledge of support), and sprinkle the coconut water seven times over a buffalo brought by their ancestor's wife-takers for eventual sacrifice in behalf of his wife-givers. The division of the buffalo that follows is part of a coordinated food exchange in which the descent group offers the wife-takers a pig and the baskets of cooked rice brought by the wife-givers. Recalling the demands for goods that they made at the time of burial, however, the wife-givers place the buffalo's head on the tombstone and refuse to eat it until a horse is presented to them the following morning. A second horse and six swords later, the wife-takers receive the uncooked rice as well, and both sets of affines, momentarily satiated, depart for their respective homes and leave the descent group alone to reaffirm its lineal self.

This reaffirmation begins with a sacrifice, the penultimate ritual of the making of the dead. Called the *gi sae milolo* ("to relate the end"), this ceremony involves sacrificing a ram and a hen to the sacred banyan tree and the rock that touches its base. This tree and rock (male and female, respectively) symbolize the union of Father Sky and Mother Earth and are found in every ancestral hearth. The sacrifice signifies that "we (the Makassae) are created." As the descent group huddles together at its most sacred site, the Guardian of the Myths and Traditions incants:

<i>Lo modo inigau anu dehe</i>	Sky earth create man for us
<i>Mata dehe.</i>	Create children.

<i>Anigau tufuræ dehe</i>	Create woman for me
<i>Anigau asukæ dehe.</i>	And man for me.
<i>Uru moi do mua isi.</i>	The dew comes to earth.
<i>Ua rira do mua isi.</i>	The moisture comes to earth.
<i>Ini toe.</i>	It feeds us.
<i>Ini fala.</i>	It nourishes us.
<i>Ini bono.</i>	It fills us out.
<i>Ini selara.</i>	It makes us grow.

Then, in a ceremony obviously recreating the ridding of bad blood, the members of the descent group take a bath together in a sacred mountain stream. On the far bank of that stream, they engage in a group betelchew, after which they cross back and jump over a bonfire before returning single file and in silence to the lineage house; once there, they again chew betel in a group replication of the consecration of marriage. That night the women all stay together inside the lineage house, while the men lie beneath them, under the house.

Exchange and Alliance as a Paradigm of Life

Makassae marital and mortuary rituals seem to be statements about the structure of relationships between social groups. The reproductive and cosmological belief system underlies the ideology of exchange, which is expressed sociologically and symbolically in the rituals themselves. Continuity in life is a major collective concern and serves, in the end, to orient both economic and social behavior. Agricultural production and sexual reproduction are inextricably linked in the Makassae conception of the chain of life; this conception, reenacted in myths and rituals, is given direct and deliberate impetus in exchanges between specified affinal kin. Like for like is never exchanged. Buffalo, horses, and swords to work the fields go to wife-givers, cooked rice and pork to wife-takers. In this system, work animals and food represent these categories of affines, and the nature of the relationship between them is expressed in the exchanges. In marital negotiations these exchanges are direct. In mortuary rituals, the descent group emerges as an intermediary and thus stresses the continuity of its role as both wife-giver and wife-taker, despite the death of the single linking member. The critical importance of exchange and alliance is reemphasized in the culminating ritual, the making of the dead, in which the productive and reproductive paradigms are joined to form the key to new life.

The argument is supported by another major ritual undertaking, the rebuilding of the sacred lineage house, which occurs, significantly, about once each generation. (A typical house lasts twenty to thirty years.) The exchange activities that occur in the context of the house-building rituals are different from, yet entirely consistent with, those of marital and mortuary rituals. Thus, the ideology of food exchange is consistent across marital, mortuary, and house-building rituals, but it takes on a rather particular and emphatic character in the last. Whereas all transfers of animals in marital and mortuary exchanges are made in the form of cooked food (save for the horses and buffalo brought to repay the labors of matrilineal kin), the exchange of cooked food during house-building ceremonies is expressly prohibited until the house is built and the cooking hearth, which gives life to the house, is placed inside.

At first glance, the absence of food exchanges might seem to be merely a reflection of the character of social participation in the different rituals. The role of the descent group, relatively inconspicuous in the direct life-giving exchanges that accompany marriage, is defined in the course of funerary ritual, magnified in the coordination of mortuary exchanges, and made almost exclusive in ceremonies marking the rebuilding of a sacred lineage house. The need for labor for these house buildings requires that the organizers recruit beyond the confines of their own descent group; and they do so, but entirely on a reciprocal, voluntary, nonkin basis. While affines can and do participate in the cutting and transporting of wood and the constructing and roofing of the house, they are not differentiated from other casual workmen. The only food offered for eating is sacrificial animals (slaughtered to propitiate the spirits during the ten critical phases of the house building) and rice (consumed as part of the offering for the spilt "blood" of the felled trees and the cutting of the roof thatch). On these occasions the descent group slaughters and prepares only its own animals. By the same token, the labor for the house building is paid for by the Ina/Boba (the Mother/Father) with raw buffalo meat belonging to the descent group. This is the same hermaphroditic superparent who distributed the uncooked animal among descent group members at the end of the funerary ritual. And only once the house has been built and the hearth placed inside is a wife-givers' pig slaughtered and their rice eaten; these acts in effect declare: "Our house has been made, but we must now marry out to reproduce and prosper."

The house-building ceremony, like the making of the dead, is followed by a sacrifice to the sacred rock and banyan tree, a ritual bath, a betelchew, a bonfire, a silent return to the lineage house, and a group consecration of marriage. During the one house-building ritual that I have witnessed, the head of the lineage and his wife were sent off to copulate. When they returned to the housesite, the ritual specialist threw a young rooster onto the roof to mount the newly placed ornamental carving and invoked him to augur, with a cocky cock-a-doodle-doo, a prosperous future for the lineage:

Oh! Cock of the moon and cock of the sun
Mount to the rooftop and sing to the rising sun
You who are the living heir to this hearth.

7 Notes on the Meaning of Marriage Prestations among the Huaulu of Seram

Valerio Valeri

But how can one pay back the tokens? There are several ways, and since this question of exchange and reimbursement forms the basis of all human existence and social life in the settlements along the coast, I shall have to add a few details.

There is found here, rarely on the lower slopes and more frequently as one ascends, a clear and extremely hard stone, spherical and of variable size . . . In the French spoken in Port o'Monkeys, this stone is called *peradam*. Ivan Lapse is still puzzled by the formation and the root meaning of the word. It may mean, as he sees it, 'harder than diamond', as is very much the case, or else 'father of diamond'. And some say that diamond is in reality the product of the disintegration of *peradam* by a sort of squaring of the circle or more exactly cubing of the sphere. Or else the word may mean 'Adam's stone', and have had some secret and profound role in determining the nature of man.

—René Daumal, *Mount Analogue*

Dualism and Asymmetry

THE CONNECTION between dualism and asymmetry, direct and indirect reciprocity, and even and odd numerical categories is one of the basic themes of van Wouden's thesis. This theme is treated in an analytical framework that distinguishes a global level and a level that is centered on an ego. The latter level comprises three groups connected by an asymmetric affinal relationship: ego's group, a group of wife-givers, and a group of wife-takers. The global point of view implies a system of marriage classes that simultaneously justifies both the symmetry and the asymmetry of affinal relations. This viewpoint favors the notion of an underlying dualism, connected with a system of moieties or phratries, that encompasses the asymmetric relationships between concrete lineage groups. This hidden dualism is supposed to explain the occurrence of forms of symbolic dualism in the societies of eastern Indonesia. Despite van Wouden's affirmation (1968, p. 86) that he was interested in total systems and that the social component could not be arbitrarily separated from the cultural component, he nevertheless gave the kinship model a privileged status in his theory. "Cosmos and human society are organised in the same way," only in the sense that "the scheme of social categories . . . serves as the model for an all-embracing classification" (1968, p. 2). Thus, there is a reductionist bent in van Wouden's book: all things considered, every form of dualism and symbolic symmetry must have been rooted originally in a former system of exogamous moieties or phratries. By giving a privileged place to an explanation in terms of descent and exogamy, van Wouden had to complement his Durkheimian functionalism with a form of historicism.

As I shall try to show, for one eastern Indonesian society at least—the Huaulu of Seram—van Wouden was right in insisting that asymmetry is encompassed by symmetry, but he was unable to understand the nature of symmetry and its relationship to asymmetry because he lacked an adequate theory of symbolism. For him, the reality of symbolism reflected social institutions rather than made them possible; he, therefore, had to put the encompassing symbol, symmetry, at the same level of reality as the encompassed social institution, the prestation of women.

Van Wouden discussed the Huaulu in the general context of the Manusela group who occupy a large part of the central area of Seram. The Huaulu live nowadays in the mountainous region of Sekenima and in a few impermanent settlements on the

northern coast. According to the 1969 census, they numbered only 139 persons. They form the only group in the linguistic and cultural area of Manusela who have remained entirely pagan and they have preserved their traditional cosmology and system of material culture better than other groups in the area. Their society is divided into four large units, neither strictly exogamous nor exclusively endogamous, and each of these is further divided into patrilineages that are united by asymmetric affinal relations. Marriage with the matrilinear cross-cousin (*kaefini*) is prescribed. In the past, the Huaulu lived in small local groups and had no village organization. Each local group had one dominant lineage and some of the lineages' "sisters' children" and other affines resided with it.

Arata and the Rules for Its Circulation

The main valuables exchanged at marriage are collectively called *arata*. This word is probably derived from the Indonesian *harta*, which is itself related to the Sanskrit *artha* (see Monier-Williams, 1899, 1964, p. 152). As elsewhere in the Moluccas and in part of the coastal area of Irian Jaya, most of the valuables used in the marriage transactions of the Huaulu belong to either of two categories of objects: porcelain plates (*afala*, *pina*) or armlets (*papila*) made from a species of shell belonging to the genus *Conus*. Most armlets are made locally from shells that, although rarely found in the seas surrounding Seram, are abundant around the coral islands of the Moluccas and the coast of Irian Jaya. Those manufactured in Huaulu come from Pulau Tujuh (a group of small islands off the northern coast of Seram) or from Irian. Nowadays, however, the shells are difficult to obtain, and new *arata* of this kind is rarely added to what is already circulating in Seram. Porcelain, on the other hand, is of Chinese, Korean, Thai, Japanese, or European origin.

Other, less important objects can serve as *arata* on particular occasions or as subsidiaries of the two main items: gongs (*fa-fiata*), metal earrings and armlets, glass or metal beads (*uwenu*), textiles (*kalu*) (categorized in origin, age, characteristics, functions), and, occasionally, coins of European origin. Lack of the traditional objects sometimes obliges people to rely partly on paper money, which they deprecate. In Huaulu, this happens very rarely in marriage transactions, but it occurs more frequently in Christianized and Islamized villages. Nowhere in central Seram, however, can a ritual prestation be made with Indonesian rupiahs alone. Although in this chapter I concen-

trate on the more important forms of valuables (plates and armlets) which are used in transactions, I should point out that all types of valuables are interrelated; it is always possible to exchange arata in one category for arata in another at rates that are fixed primarily by custom.

The two principal categories of valuables are divided further. While papila belong mainly to one of two *quantitative* categories (large or small), plates are classified into many *qualitative* categories. Conversion from qualitative to quantitative value is made according to a formula that specifies the number of armlets that must be paid for a plate.

Circulation is governed by two rules: (1) Plates and armlets must move in opposite directions—that is, plates cannot be exchanged for plates nor armlets for armlets. (2) The direction of their circulation must accord with the *hahamana/hahapina* (“wife-giver/wife-taker”) relationship. Armlets and women move in the one direction and plates in the opposite direction. In other words, wife-takers give plates to their wife-givers and wife-givers reciprocate with armlets. This rule applies not only to the prestations at various stages of the marriage relationship but to all exchanges between two allied lineages. A marriage between members of two lineages in the past is sufficient to determine the direction of the ceremonial exchange once and for all. Only a reversal of the direction of the marriage alliance can reverse the direction of the circulation of arata.

Throughout the Manusela area, whenever a man who possesses armlets needs a plate for a ceremonial transaction, he may request one from a man in any lineage that is his *hahapina*. Affinal relationships and the direction of the circulation of women are thus remembered over a rather large area. The exchange of valuables, which always follows the same circuits, contributes to the maintenance of relationships between groups not united by formal political bonds. This explains a fact that at first seems paradoxical: although genealogical knowledge is at times limited, each lineage jealously preserves a record of all important women whom it has given (and, to a lesser extent, those it has received) in the past. This record often covers a large area, because it is precisely the movement of these women that determines both the position of a lineage in the global system of exchange and possible political coalitions. Several times I saw men arrive from distant villages to request plates from their *hahapina* to whom they had given a woman many generations ago, even though after the original exchange no subsequent marriages had been arranged to reaffirm the relationship.

Like other peoples who practice asymmetric marriage, the Huaulu insist on reciprocal exchange of ceremonial goods between affines. Although each category of arata circulates asymmetrically, the exchanges themselves are symmetric. Every payment of plates from the wife-takers has to be reciprocated by an equivalent payment in armlets from the wife-givers. This rule of absolute reciprocity is reflected by the fixed rates of exchange between armlets and the various kinds of plate.

Contrary to what is sometimes said despite the cogent criticism of van Wouden (1968, p. 154), there is no payment in the sense that valuables are exchanged for women, nor even in the sense that women are considered part of the balance of total prestations between wife-givers and wife-takers. The requirement of total reciprocity in "monetary" terms indicates that, in native consciousness, the prestation of arata is not immediately equivalent to the asymmetric prestation of women. Furthermore, the exchange of women is asymmetric, and from this point of view, the relationship between wife-givers, who are "male," and wife-takers, who are "female," is hierarchical. Yet the exchange of arata is conspicuously symmetric and egalitarian. Therefore, the relationship of the two allied groups seems to lose its hierarchical connotations.

Why is a relationship established between the absolutely nonreciprocal flow of women and the absolutely reciprocal flow of arata in marriage? What social implications does this relationship have? What does it mean for the Huaulu?

Marriage Payments and Rules for Affiliation

Although every exchange that accompanies marriage forms part of a continuous flow between wife-givers and wife-takers, three prestations are essential for a marriage to achieve its full status. Each of these marks a stage in a cycle that involves a change in affiliation, residence, names, and associated prohibitions (*makuwoli*).

A marriage relationship is initiated by a series of more or less complicated ceremonies (a formal request, an engagement, and so on), which always require minor prestations. The first prestation of important valuables is made when the groom officially moves to his father-in-law's house to live with his wife. At this stage, residence is uxorilocal (*kolaupu*). The wife still belongs to her group, as do the children who are born to the couple. Fur-

thermore, both wife and children are forbidden to enter any house belonging to a member of the husband's lineage. Many marriages never proceed beyond the kolaupu stage. In fact, such marriages are not considered real marriages at all.

A real marriage is marked by a couple's assumption of a *lala-suwananiam* ("name for marital status"). This name, identical for husband and wife, is not a teknonym, even though the suffix *-inani* ("mother") is added for the wife and the suffix *-amani* ("father") for the husband. It is assumed only after the payment of the second and most important prestation which allows residence to become virilocal for the couple and patrilocal for the children. Until this prestation is paid, parents are called by teknonyms. In fact, they are recognized only as begetters; for it is still uncertain to which group their children will belong. If the second prestation is never paid, the children belong to their mother's group; if it is paid, all or some of the children are transferred to their father's group. This does not concern only residence, but also affiliation.

After the second payment is made, parents are no longer addressed or referred to by teknonyms but by the *lala-suwananiam* which is chosen for the couple by the husband's elders from among the names of the ancestors of the husband's group who married into the wife's group. The marriage is thus considered a repetition of a former one, and the name symbolizes the permanence of the alliance relationship between the two groups. Because of this symbolic value, the social status of the couple is no longer simply a function of their status as parents; it stands for a relationship between the wife-givers and wife-takers. It is only at this stage, with the payments of *arata*, that a marriage realizes the alliance between the two groups.

The second marriage prestation entails a new prohibition for the wife and children: neither the woman nor her children are allowed to enter any house belonging to her agnatic kin. (A third prestation, however, lifts this prohibition.) Accompanied by elaborate rituals, the second prestation is important because it marks the most important change in status. This transaction perpetuates patrilineal and patrilocal groups and reinforces their affinal relationships. A man who is unable to make this payment simply has no agnatic descendants; his children are integrated into their mother's group. Because only a limited number of men are able to make this payment, not everyone can achieve the status of perpetuator of his agnatic group. There is no automatic functioning of the descent principle. *Arata* subor-

dinates descent, since an individual's affiliation depends on the transactions between his father's and his mother's groups. Furthermore, arata seems to function as a selector of both affiliation and status since paternal affiliation is associated with high status and maternal affiliation with low status.

This selective principle does not function in the way that earlier authors, as well as more recent ones, have supposed. According to this theory, descent depends on bridewealth, because the patrilineal group "buys" the reproductive powers of the woman and, therefore, "buys" her children; patrilineal descent is thus the statistical outcome of this "buying" over generations. But what about the counter gifts? What about the requirement of absolute reciprocity in the exchange of arata?

It appears that in Huauilu the connection is not so much between patrilineal descent and bridewealth as between patrilineal descent and the *reciprocity* of payments related to marriage. In order to understand the logic of this connection, we must reflect on the fact that—although the prestations of women are asymmetric—the Huauilu view alliance as a mutual relationship that is essentially dyadic in nature.

This mutuality necessarily results from a conception of alliance as a perpetual relationship between groups, not simply between categories: if the distinction between two allied groups is not preserved, the alliance between them is no longer possible. Therefore, the initial subordinate relationship of the sister's children to their mother's brother must be transformed: they must assume an independent position in their father's group. In this way they can perpetuate their father's group and its alliance relationship with their mother's brother's group. Their passage from a state of subordination to a state of independence transforms a cognatic form of relationship (associated with the inequality of the related individuals in an ambilateral group) to an affinal form (associated with the autonomy of two distinct patrilineal groups).

The fundamental fact is that this transformation concerns both groups to the same extent; it involves the alliance that gives each group a distinctive existence in relation to the other, together with a given rank. This equal interest must be expressed by prestations that, being reciprocal and equivalent, demonstrate the complementarity of the groups and the groups' evaluation of the alliance that both binds and bounds them. A mere exchange of women for bridewealth would separate the two groups, but it would not indicate that this separation is

meaningful only as a condition for perpetuating their relationship.

The native hahamana/hahapina categorization reflects the complex interplay of affinity and consanguinity—the transformation of affinity into consanguinity and the retransformation of the latter into the former. Literally, “hahamana” means “male veranda”; “hahapina,” “female veranda.” “Veranda” here is a synecdoche for “house” (*luma*): it symbolizes the social group associated with the *luma* in its relationship to another group, since the veranda is the part of the house reserved for social encounters. Like most peoples in central Seram, the Huauulu connote this opposition by the categorical opposition between “children of the brother (that is, hahamana)” and “children of the sister (hahapina).” This is quite logical, since otherwise the symbolic identification of the wife-givers with the male side would be absurd: if the hahamana/hahapina relationship were conceptualized, not in terms of the brother/sister relationship, but in terms of the affinal relationship between wife and husband, the wife-giver’s side would be female, not male. As a matter of fact, the point of view is that of a brother: the male sibling stays with his paternal lineage, the female sibling is given away; male children stay with their father, female children are married out. Not surprisingly, “hahamana” is also glossed “male child” and “hahapina” “female child.” It is evident that in native conceptualization the wife-giving/wife-taking relationship is subsumed under more fundamental relationships: children of the brother/children of the sister, brother/sister, and finally, male/female.

Thus, in summary, although the actual exchange of women is nonreciprocal, alliance implies reciprocity in terms of rank and in terms of mutual recognition of the continuity of the groups involved. This mutuality is expressed by associating the symmetric prestations of valuables with the asymmetric prestations of women. The former are a *condicio sine qua non* for the perpetuation of asymmetric alliance between the groups. Furthermore, since alliance is subordinate to a hierarchical opposition of male and female—brother and sister—and since female links are inferior and result in subordinate relationships, it is patrilineal descent that is connected with the perpetuation of alliance. Relationships through females cross and confuse the boundaries between groups; male links establish these boundaries. Hence, a dialectical tension exists between the two kinds of relationship.

The Hierarchy of Alliances and the Political Implications of Prestations

We have seen that the asymmetric prestation of women establishes a hierarchy, but one between only two groups. In global terms, since the system in Huauilu is cyclical, hierarchy is destroyed by generalization, because generalized exchange implies that each marriage is equivalent to every other. Hence, there is no way to consider one alliance more important than another.

The exchange of arata modifies the hierarchical implications of the exchange of women by giving a differential value to each alliance and to each couple in the allied groups. In order to understand this effect, it is necessary to comprehend the way in which marriage payments are collected and given.

According to the Huauilu, the ideal situation is one in which all the members of the society participate in the second marriage transaction. However insignificant one's contribution may be, one should stand either on the side of the bride's group or on the side of the groom's group. But this total, or extended, participation is achieved only rarely. The marriages for which it is achieved, however, are extremely important, because the result is the division of the entire society into two reciprocating sides—one connected with the male group (hahamana), the other with the female group (hahapina).

For the immediate affines of the two lines involved in the marriage, there is no choice: the wife-givers of the wife-givers align with the wife-givers and the wife-takers of the wife-takers align with the wife-takers. The former contribute armlets and receive plates; the latter give plates and receive armlets. The chain is, of course, closed; each group solicits armlets from its wife-givers and plates from its wife-takers. However, at the ritual level, the cyclical character of prestations is concealed by the requirement that every person align with either the hahapina or the hahamana involved in that marriage. Even if there is a cycle at the exchange level, there must be a division into two in the actual ceremony. This division is possible because the more distant the relationship of a group with the two lineages celebrating the marriage ceremony, the more weight political factors have in the choice of that group's official position. Moreover, each group has more than one wife-giving and one wife-taking partner. Although a person may give to all his partners,

he will align himself officially with the partner to whom he owes more arata, if he is not already obligated to take the side of a close affine. For each marriage that is celebrated, there is thus in the cycle a weak point, which tends to become a cleavage point at the ritual, as well as at the political, level.

The two sides become manifest during the ceremony: those who identify themselves with the hahapina bring their contributions and sit in the hahapina's house, and those who identify with the hahamana bring their prestations and stay at the hahamana's house. Of course, people in the groom's house contribute plates, and people in the bride's house armlets. However, in addition to these ceremonial prestations, small individual exchanges, which reverse and contradict the official alignment, can take place. Those who ceremonially give plates to one side can, on an individual basis and in an unceremonial way, give armlets to their wife-takers on the other side.

The critical factor is one of balance between different relationships: a person stands with the group to which he has major obligations and owes the most arata of one kind, but doing so does not hinder his honoring relationships of subordinate value. The relationship between this dualistic, ceremonial division and the complex pattern of asymmetric, cyclical exchanges is thus a hierarchical one. Asymmetry is subordinated to symmetry; a secondary allegiance is subordinated to a major one.

Since the two sides are not "moieties" determined by descent, it is clear that the alignment of groups can differ for different marriages. In fact, only a few marriages of important people can produce divisions that involve everyone. Such marriages and the exchanges that they effect within the society cause every group to manifest its membership in a limited number of factions, ordered in partially overlapping sets of pairs.

The prestations of every marriage include what are, in fact, prestations for other marriages as well. Characteristically, in reckoning how much has been "paid" for a bride, the sum given by the husband's group and his immediate contributors (that is, the husband's wife-takers) is not clearly distinguished from the total prestations exchanged between affines. The arata paid by those aligned with the groom are considered further payments for their own wives, as well as contributions to the groom's brideprice. Since every marriage occasions the settlement of debts and a rapid circulation of arata, it is in fact difficult to distinguish one prestation from another. What is important here is

the complementarity of viewpoints: from the individual point of view, the payment made by each contributor is given for his own wife; but from the collective viewpoint of cyclical reciprocity, an individual's payment is also his contribution to the marriage of someone else.

In effect, this system of prestations creates a situation in which every marriage implies other marriages (ideally all other marriages) and expresses—at the asymmetric level of exchange and in the symmetric form of the ritual—the interrelationship of all marriages in a system of global reciprocity or mutuality. However, marriages that elicit prestations of great importance imply the total system more than the others do. Thus, a hierarchy is created or confirmed by the relationship that each marriage has to the totality.

Another feature of this system is that, though immediate affinal relationships motivate prestations, *arata* circulates rapidly in some sectors of the society and much more slowly in others. Important men (*manusia potoa*) sitting on opposite sides during the marriage ceremony make their exchanges almost directly with each other, although officially the valuables go through asymmetric affinal links. This contributes further to the symmetric connotation of these marriage exchanges.

The indirect reciprocity produced by matrilineal cross-cousin marriage is expressed ritually as a direct reciprocity between two sides, which ideally should be as large as possible. Each side is identified, according to the category of valuables that it gives, as either *hahamana* (male) or *hahapina* (female). The result is not so much a hierarchy between *hahamana* and *hahapina* as it is an internal hierarchy between brothers in the lineage, on one hand, and a hierarchy of allied couples in the global society on the other hand (see Valeri, 1975–1976).

Arata as Sumbolon: The Pleasure of Exchange

Since van Wouden, symmetric marriage prestations in societies practicing unilateral marriage have been interpreted as exchanges of male versus female goods (see, for instance, Needham, 1958). Is this also true for the Huauilu? Several ambiguities have to be noted in this connection. We have seen that the wife-giver's group is considered male, not female: we would therefore expect that the goods the group gives have a male connotation. However, armlets circulate in the same direction as women and should therefore be female. Reciprocally, what is the sexual con-

notation of the plates given by the wife-taker's side which is considered female, not male? Furthermore, since both plates and armlets are foreign goods, it cannot be said that, as in other eastern Indonesian societies, the dual nature of the prestations between affines reflects a sexual division of labor.

These observations may help to explain the sexual ambiguity of the Huaulu arata. If any conclusion can be drawn from the multiple symbolic associations of armlets and plates, it is that *both* kinds of arata are predominantly female in their connotations. In fact, rather than a sexual opposition, arata signals an opposition between quality and form (represented by plates) and quantity and formlessness (represented by armlets). To understand better why this symbolic duality is indeed the condition for the asymmetric circulation of women, a few more details of the ideology associated with arata objects must be considered.

As I have already said, there are a great variety of plates. Not only do they fall into different classes, but individual plates in each class can be singled out either for their intrinsic peculiarities or for the events with which they are associated. (This incidentally allows history, in its traces and documents, to be integrated in the exchange and to be circulated as the substance of that exchange, and indeed of society itself.) Plates are decorated, and their patterns are interpreted by the Huaulu; they become symbols for aspects of culture and history. Like many of those magical objects or talismans to which Mauss (1968–1969, vol. 2, pp. 106–112) traced the origin of money, plates appear as inanimate objects to humans but are, the Huaulu believe, living beings. When out of sight, they are, to some extent, independent of their owners; they can transform themselves into wild, magical pigs which roam about. A plate—which has to be alive if it is to represent life in transactions—manifests its own life, its soul, with its “voice” (*lio*), the sound it makes when struck. The more beautiful the voice, the more alive and effective the plate. A dull, soundless plate is “dead” (*maatá nika*); it is not used any longer and is thrown away for the spirits of the dead. Live plates represent life itself in its qualitative dimension, the articulate world of shape into which life can be read. Armshells too represent life, but in a shapeless state; their symbolic function is to measure life in terms of quantity.

Plates, then, are individuals. But individuals cannot be exchanged for one another unless they are considered equivalent

to units of some abstract standard of value; unless, in other words, they are depersonalized. The conversion of plates to armlets makes exchange possible. Armlets, on the other hand, have an abstract value, both in terms of exchange and as symbols of "shapeless" life. They have to be converted to something with form, or concrete value. Hence groups are obligated to exchange quantity against quality—plates for armlets and armlets for plates.

The duality of arata symbolizes the process of conversion implied by the exchange of women. Just as plates cannot be measured against one another except through the mediation of armshells and therefore are not directly exchangeable, so too women, as *individuals*, cannot be considered equivalent to one another and exchanged for one another without mediation. A wife is equivalent neither to a man's sister nor to a man's mother. Yet she must acquire some common exchange value if matrilineal marriage is to be enforced, since this form of marriage implies both that a wife is equivalent to a mother (in that a son's marriage repeats his father's) and that a wife is equivalent to a sister (in that a woman who marries into a group replaces and compensates for a woman who has married out of the group). These equivalences are stressed in the marriage ritual, but they are made possible, at a deeper level, only by the relationship that is established between marriage and the exchange of arata. The latter is a direct, visible conversion of an individual to standard units and vice versa. Therefore, the association of the exchange of arata with marriage establishes a meaning for marriage in terms of exchange. A sister is converted to a wife because the two women become comparable when the "price" (*muluaheliniam*) of each of them (the plates given for them) is converted to units of a fixed standard (that is, armlets). Because they are exchanged for objects whose individuality is analogous to their own and because these individual objects are in turn exchanged for units of quantitative standard, women can be considered equivalent in exchange as the rule of exogamy implies.

The duality of arata is thus a fundamental precondition of arata's functioning as a signifier of a signified (a woman) that has a double aspect (individual value and exchange value). As an individual, a woman is not considered by the Huaulu to have exchange value: a person's mother is his mother and is incomparable to any other woman. But a woman acquires exchange value

when she becomes a bearer and transmitter of blood and life, for these circulate among groups through women and because of women. It is significant, therefore, that the armlets which depersonalize and yet allow circulation through the conversion of one quality to another are associated with blood as an abstract, impersonal quantity of life. If life must assume a concrete form in each lineage, it is the abstract quality of blood that relates each of these forms.

Blood and armshells are symbols of transformation and thus of exchange and of society itself. But it would be an error to assign them a privileged status in relation to their counterparts, body and plates. There is a vital relationship between both elements: quantity without quality, blood without body, totality without individuality are meaningless. Nothing but the connection between these two elements makes exchange and social life possible. For the same reason, it is impossible to separate the components of each pair and to compare them separately with other aspects of the culture: only as a pair are they comparable. Armshells and plates do not connote men and women; rather, it is the relationship between armshells and plates that makes possible the relationship between men and women. This relationship implies that, in the system of global reciprocity, each woman—since women are exchanged—must be comparable to every other. The asymmetric nature of this exchange must remain subordinate to the symmetric transformation of one category of objects into another to allow the comparability that makes exchange possible.

Thus, the duality of *arata* is itself a minimal but powerful form of symbolism. *Sumbolon*—the Greek word from which “symbol” derived—meant precisely a piece of something that was the token of the remaining part and had to be completed by it to be recognized as a *sumbolon*. Each was the token of the other. *Huau*lu *arata* is a symbol in this etymological sense because it consists of two parts that together form a whole. When asked their own view of the exchange of *arata*, the *Huau*lu immediately refer to the idea of play (*aluwaniam*) and to the pleasure that accompanies it: *Kalu arata ia le'u kalua, ita rasa pinia* (“It gives us pleasure to see *arata* come and go”). This coming and going has to be interpreted in the literal sense that *arata* of one category comes as the *arata* of the other goes. Pleasure thus consists in this play, in the perpetual enactment of a symbolic relationship and of the conversion of plates and armlets to each

other. Pleasure lies in the symbol as conjunction: two separate things are brought into relation with each other to discover the point at which they fit as tokens of one another.

We can then conclude with Aristotle: "The love of the opposite in a way is also the love of the good. In effect, they [the opposites] strive to reach one another through the middle point: they yearn for each other as symbols [súmbola], because from both of them results one middle thing" (Aristotle, *Eudemian Ethics* 1239b30–33).

Part Two

Systems of Social and Symbolic Classification

8 The Significance of Livestock on Sumba

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LIVESTOCK are an important, indeed a necessary, part of the property of a Sumbanese family. In east Sumba, the word *banda* can refer to all kinds of animate or inanimate property. *Banda la maràda* ("possessions in the field," that is, livestock) are distinguished from *banda la uma* ("possessions in the house"). Livestock may also be designated as *banda luri* ("living goods or property"). A Sumbanese should strive to obtain and preserve such property. In a very special sense, it is for him a necessity of life, the necessity that enables him to live in accordance with his status as a Sumbanese.

In west Sumba, *amaringina* refers to whatever is "cool" or "good," a state of well-being that is sought and prayed for; in east Sumba, *màndjaku maringu* refers to whatever is "cool" and "fresh." Among the things associated with this concept is an "abundance of wealth and a surplus of food" (*pote pareina nga'a pazèla*). It is not surprising that Sumbanese equate such things. *Dedi tau* ("the blessing of children") and *dedi banda* ("the continuation of livestock") are mentioned together in addressing those spirits who are called the *ndewa pahomba*. The Sumbanese ask for procreation and birth, fertility and increase, the birth of boys and girls; they ask for wealth and good fortune, white stallions and golden mares, that is, *ndjara makadjeki* ("dancing horses") to perform the drum dance and the war dance. In this context,

they also ask for precious metals. In calling on and addressing the *ndewa pahomba*, a person recognizes that his possessions have a spiritual underpinning to which his entire existence is bound. Possessions do not exist on their own, nor can they be detached from their underpinning; a person's conduct is related to his possessions.

Personal possessions are singularly linked with the life of their owner. They are not impersonal; rather they are part of the person who owns them and are related to his life in a particular way. A person's betel-nut case is a good example. In west Sumba when someone leaves behind his betel-nut case, his parang, or his cloth, his *ndewa* ("vitality") is affected: *Nakôba dèngangge ndewara* ("His *ndewa* becomes powerless"). When he arrives home, he will attempt to ascertain who or what is threatening him by divination and by calling on his *marapu*. When the people at whose house he has left his possession notice it, they *kède ngindi* ("get up with it," "leave with it," or "go to him with it"). "Going to him with it" means more than just returning it; it implies a strengthening of the owner's weakened *ndewa* and the returning of his *mawo* ("spirit"). The return of an object is accompanied by a gift, which is immediately reciprocated with a countergift by the owner of the betel-nut case. This exchange of gifts restores the life of the owner, threatened with misfortune, to its former condition.

We can thus better appreciate the practice of calling an important individual by the name of his horse. The use of *ngara ndjara* (a "horse name") is related to the reluctance that a Sumbanese feels about mentioning his own name or the name of a prominent individual. But it also indicates the special relationship between a horse and its master. The *ngara ndjara* may be used in parallel with the *tamu tau* (the "personal name"). *Napawuwa tamu taungu, napadindu ngara ndjarangu* ("His personal name was known, his horse name was renowned") can be said of someone who is well known. In west Sumba, certain significant events in the life of a person are remembered in connection with the name of his horse.

The relationship between man and animal makes an animal more than a mere impersonal possession that can be alienated or given to strangers. This is reflected in a lament that is supposed to have been sung by the horses of a lord of Mangili when he decided to sell them for export from Sumba. The song dates back eighty years but the feelings it expresses have not disappeared even though conditions have changed. In this song, one

of the departing horses addresses the horses that remain, and together they remember the life they led when they were cared for by their master:

Listen, do listen, O my comrade horses
Let me tell you, tell you all
Let me say it, say it all
How closely we lived here together
Bound to the deep-driven tethering pole
How tightly we crowded in our corral
Completely filling our stable.
Only because they directed the word from Mamboru
Only because they sent the report from Lewa
They, the friends and acquaintances of our master.
Listen, do listen, O my comrade horses
Bring, they did bring a message:
"Set out and come here,
My friend, my acquaintance,"
Said he over there
He who is named Sir Sanggap
Who is called Lord of the Areca Palm
Said he over there to our master.
Listen to me, O listen to me, my comrade horses
Now that it has come
The morning of our descent
The day of our departure
So let me remember
Those who untied us from the pole
And led us to the bathing place;
O my comrade horses,
Where I now proceed, there is no looking back
Where I now go, there is no turning back.
I now leave behind and turn my back
On the grass on which we grazed
On the water that we drank
And on those who led us to the bathing place
And on those who untied us from the pole.
Listen to me, O listen to me, O my comrade horses
I will remember
The watering places where we drank
The grass on which we grazed
The lands through which we ran
The fields on which we trod
Kiri Latang, Ramuku Watu
Manu Pandaku Bitara, Tana Mânangu Larahaü;
I will name
La Taki, la Ndakawuli

La Pangguli Lamba, la Hau Kaka
La Tundu Lindi, la Pahawura;
Now I leave them behind
And turn my back on them;
Let us shed tears over them
And let mucus flow from our noses
For it is the morning of my descent
The day of my departure, O my comrade horses,
Do listen to me, O my comrade horses
It is the morning of my descent, the day of my departure
Over there down below
Waingapu, the border of the land
Wara that juts into the sea, O my comrade horses
There, there is the resting place, as in the *motu* game
The finishing line as in a horse race.
Already my abode has been determined
In the hold of a great ship
Under wide set sails
Climbing the waves like hills
Crossing the sea like a plain.
Listen, O my comrades
Now because of this
My nose runs mucus continuously
And my eyes are never dry of my tears.
Let us now name
Let us now remember
Those who trotted near us and galloped beside us
And also those who untied us from the pole
And those who led us to the bathing place;
Whose feet did not shun fatigue
Whose hands did not fear trouble
When they took us in the morning
When they brought us back in the evening.
Do listen to me, O my comrade horses
We are going there, there below
To Waingapu, the border of the land
To Wara that juts into the sea
A place red with strangers
A place black with foreigners
Where the ship arrives
And the boats anchor.
Now we must go on the crests of the foaming water
And look down on the green swirl.
"We have come to an understanding with our words,
We have made an agreement with our hands,"
Said our lords, our masters.
Do listen to me, O our comrade horses

Strangers who can throw their money about
Foreigners who are clever with their words
At Waingapu, the border of the land
At Wara that juts into the sea
Because of them we cry as we remember
La Tana Mânangu, la Larahaü
La Kiri Latangu, la Ramuku Watu,
O our comrade horses.

A song like this makes clear that there is a certain opposition to the sale of anything associated with the land or with the personal identity of its owner.

This personal relation with one's property does not end at death, but continues even after death. I remember a conversation I had with a village headman in the domain of Loliina in west Sumba during the burial feast for his mother. A considerable number of water buffalo were slaughtered at the time, and in discussing this, I pointed out to him the financial loss involved in such a slaughter. He did not see it in these terms at all; it was apparent that other values were more important to him. In fact, he would have liked to slaughter more animals:

If there were no tax on slaughtering animals, would I not slaughter a lot more? Of course, I would do it. If I provide for my ancestors, they will provide for me. If I feed them, they will feed me. If I give them wealth, they will give me wealth. I give them part of their own property. If I have great wealth, will not my children later give me part of what I myself acquired?

This relationship applies particularly to the deceased's riding horse (*ndjara kalitina*), which must follow his owner in death and serve him in the afterlife, or at least escort him to the grave.

It is self-evident that the way in which a person views his possessions will affect the way in which he treats them. Livestock demand respect. The exception for the Sumbanese is imported cattle, the "white *sapi*" as they are called. It is interesting to note the difference in the Sumbanese attitude toward cattle in contrast to horses and water buffalo. Certainly the possession of many head of cattle increases a person's wealth and thus enhances his social standing; otherwise cattle have little importance in the *adat* of the people, although occasionally cattle may be used as bridewealth or apparently as part of the counterprescription to the gift of the bridewealth. Thus, the distinction between the kind of goods that the two parties in a marriage

give to each other does not pertain to cattle. Cattle are also offered as slaughter animals to people who are not Sumbanese, and they may slaughter the animals as they wish. Cattle, then, are of purely economic value, and the attitude that people assume toward them is different from their attitude toward other possessions. Hoekstra (1948), in his dissertation on horsebreeding on Sumba, reports that the importance of cattle depends on the social status of their owner. He notes, as typical of the low regard accorded cattle, the practice of one of the great lords who used to show visitors his horses and water buffalo but not his cattle. The question to ask is how far this economic attitude toward a certain class of livestock already influences, or will influence, the attitude toward other livestock.

This attitude toward other livestock is based on adat. The rule is *ka kutoma wàngu lii ina/ka kutoma wàngu lii ama* ("I fulfill my mother's word/I follow my father's directions"), for a person's life depends on this and his livestock achieve their purpose through this. Life thus continues from generation to generation. Even if these livestock were to be used for economic purposes, the Sumbanese would never forget their original purpose.

Outside villages in west Sumba, there is always a corral (*nggòlu ranga*), particularly for water buffalo. At both the entrance and the back wall is an upraised stone. The stone at the lower end of the corral is the place of the spirit power who watches over the herd. The stone at the corral's entrance is the place of the spirit power who lets the animals out in the morning and in, in the evening. When the rains begin to fall, the Sumbanese prepare to tread the wet-rice fields to mud by driving water buffalo around in them. Before doing this, they usually *tauna nggòlu* ("bring an offering to the corral") so that they may bring the animals down to the fields to work the earth. This offering is intended to sharpen the hooves of the water buffalo and put a point on the digging sticks so that they may tread the grass of the sawah and crush the weeds of the fields. Already the frogs (the "gongs" of the pools) and the rumbling of thunderstorms (the "drum" of the heavens) can be heard. The people ask that "the hand may guard and the feet protect" the female buffalo and their young so that in grazing, they may grow fat and in drinking, they may increase their blood; that they may not cut themselves on the *kati*-grass nor strike themselves on sharp stones. If the rains come in earnest, the Sumbanese drive the buffalo herds round in the fields for days. For neither man nor beast is this a pleasant time. Men must take off most of

their clothing and even men of high standing must work wearing only a bark girdle. Sticks and cudgels are used to force the animals to a level of exertion to which they are not normally accustomed. During this period, the animals sink themselves deep in mud, and they receive no mild treatment from their masters. But when the work is done, the fields are prepared, and the rice is planted, there is a ritual to lessen the relationship between the animals and the earth and to restore the relationship between men and animals. This ritual has various names, such as *weita-kana bole* ("throwing away of the cudgels") or *zorona palu/ailana kambala* ("putting away the cudgels/hanging up the bark clothing"). In the rice fields, a chicken is slaughtered to invoke *Mori Tana* (the "Lord of the Earth") to release the buffalo, which were under his protection while they were working in the fields, and allow them to return to the corral. He is told not to grasp them by the tail or hold them by the horns. The sticks and cudgels are left under banana trees and sugarcane stalks (that is, in cool places) so that the water buffalo may return to the corral and enclosure via the path of the cool water/the fresh water and thus diminish the heat produced by the trampling of the earth.

An offering (*kere nggòlu/ba'a nggòlu*) is also made at the lower end of the corral and at the entrance. This offering restores the animals to the care of the powers that reside there. Finally, there is a ritual during which the animals are taken to their *mawo* ("shaded place"). It is a ritual cooling of the water buffalo (*ringindi karambo*). The rite is also called *pamarangi ku'u karambo* ("cooling the hooves of the water buffalo") and *pamoli waina beina/pamoli waina anana* ("making peace with the mother and children"). A good relationship must be reestablished among the buffalo themselves. By "mother" (*bei*) is meant the female buffalo that is considered to represent the herd. Symbolizing the continuity of the herd, she is called the *bei marapu* ("female animal dedicated to the marapu"). This buffalo is also called the *bei kere nggòlu* ("female buffalo at the lower end of the corral"). *Kere* means "lower end" or "bottom" with the connotation of that from which something "comes up," "comes forth," or "originates." In this sense, the *bei marapu* is appropriately named since she keeps the herd together and "calls the others" (*amàlèndi olenà*). It is apparent from these expressions that livestock, for whatever purpose they are used, are treated with respect that is expressed in various ways.

The same applies when livestock are used for another important purpose—slaughter—for livestock belong to both

the living and the dead. An animal may be slaughtered only with due respect. An old Sumbanese in the domain of Loliina once told me: "I could never become a Christian because I could no longer slaughter an animal and could never eat meat." When I told him that we also slaughter animals and eat meat, he replied: "That may be so, but your way of slaughtering is *teba majela*" ("disorderly slaughter," "a slaughter without rules"). An animal is not slaughtered unless there is a proper occasion, though indeed there are many such occasions. A proper slaughter must be accompanied by the appropriate ritual. The animal must be told the occasion for its slaughter and must be "shown the way" (*patutuni lara*). According to the west Sumbanese, *teba majela* cannot be called slaughter, whereas the east Sumbanese say that *tobu karingingu/hundju karingingu* ("to slaughter a buffalo/to stab a pig") without a good reason can be dangerous. Since possessions have *ndewa*, "animals seek retaliation" (*dapa-kaleha da banda*) when improperly slaughtered. I have heard that when the Sumbanese slaughter an animal to sell its meat (in other words, for an economic purpose), they still make invocations before they slaughter.

A slaughter that follows the rules is never done by the owner of the animal. In west Sumba—at least in Loliina—the expression *nggòba kadu* ("other horn," "partner horn") refers to the system that requires two parties to perform the same function for each other. This applies to two equivalent groups within the same *kabisu* ("clan"), two houses with similar functions that are opposed to each other but are mutually bound to assist each other in certain situations. One such situation is the ritual slaughter of livestock. The *nggòba kadu* is more explicitly referred to as *nggòba koko kari/nggòba lili wawi* ("partner at the buffalo's neck/partner at the pig's armpit"). When a buffalo is slaughtered, the head is pulled up and a carotid artery is slashed open; a pig is trussed and tied by its forelegs to a bamboo pole, which is lifted by two men as a third stabs the heart from the left armpit. In east Sumba, though there is no system of *nggòba kadu*, an animal is slaughtered, not by its master, but by its master's partner, who is called *mbapa tunu manahu* ("partner in roasting and cooking"). This expression seems to suggest that the partner also takes care of the rest of the preparations but, in fact, it is not even necessary for the partner to do the slaughtering. It is sufficient for him to direct a striking or stabbing motion toward the animal three times. The slaughtering itself can be left to someone else.

It is clear, then, that the possession and handling of livestock involve certain rules. A person cannot do whatever he pleases with his possessions. Possessions have their rules and prohibitions (*hida hàrina*), and breaking these rules is dangerous because possessions react to such trespasses. A person may be the master of his possessions, but his possessions exert an influence on him to which he must respond. It is particularly dangerous to obtain wealth when one is young: *Djàka lalu hei hahananja banda, nda pamalundungu wànguja* ("If a person's wealth increases when he is still too young, he will die at an early age"); *nataluja ndewa banda* ("he will be overcome, he will not withstand the ndewa, the spirit, or power, of his possessions").

In Sumbanese society, possessions are a powerful means of attaining and reinforcing one's social standing. Proper standing is considered desirable. The Sumbanese classify as *maringi malala* all that is "cool, fresh, salutary"—anything that fosters well-being. Also included in this category is *zunga tamu dendo ngara* ("the renown of one's name/the celebration of one's fame"). And it is through possessions that this is achieved. A person must make apparent the fact that he has possessions. This can be done in various ways. (To paraphrase a Dutch saying, "a person must let his money roll.") Anyone who wishes to be known through his possessions must not be frugal with them. A proper slaughter of an animal theoretically involves no loss, but rather an exchange. In Sumbanese society, there are plenty of opportunities to demonstrate wealth. In particular, a person ought to give a feast from time to time. It is not flattering to a man of social standing if people say that *nda napara'a pòngukingge natarana* ("he never lets blood flow on the village square, he never slaughters, he never gives a feast"). Unless a man gives a feast, his fame will not be spread, for it is especially at feasts that his name and renown can be spoken of in ceremonial speech (*tauna li'i*): *Napamburundi natara dana* ("He brings his good qualities to the village square, he makes them public").

There is one special way in which people try to establish their name and to surpass others, especially when a person's hatred is aroused (*pakeina*). This is called *patadina teba* ("slaughtering in opposition to each other") and can occur when mediation over some grievous issue fails and the two parties cannot come to an agreement. Such a failure leads to a peculiar kind of violence. In west Sumba, when emotions flare and people feel insulted, they try to outdo each other by destroying property. The person who destroys the most property emerges as the "stronger" of the two,

since he can afford to lose more than the other. The fact that his opponent cannot match him is made public. In this way, a man openly shames his opponent. Naturally, the families of the two parties become involved and each supports its side with livestock. No one hesitates to amass great debts. A bull buffalo is regarded as of higher value than a female buffalo, and of highest value is a bull that is described as a *mane mandòpa* ("bull with horns a fathom wide"). One such animal is equivalent in value to 10 ordinary water buffalo. (In one instance, an acquaintance of mine took such an animal from someone else's corral to use against his opponent without ever considering the consequences.) One water buffalo after another is led to the slaughtering place and its throat is immediately cut. (I once witnessed the slaughter of 30 buffalo.) Such contests, however, include more than just the slaughter of water buffalo. Beautiful pieces of cloth are torn into shreds and gold ornaments are destroyed so that afterward the victor can say: *Napènewe kadunggungge* ("My horn is higher/my standing is increased").

There is a way, however, in which a person can defeat an opponent without even accepting his challenge. In one case that I witnessed, outright refusal would have meant a loss of standing, but proceeding with the challenge would have been pointless. So what the man did was to come with his property and squat down opposite his opponent. To counter the opponent's many buffalo, he brought a chicken to show how silly it was of his opponent to see him as a proper match. The victory would have been too easy and therefore unworthy. In this way, he made a laughingstock of his opponent who was publicly shamed and lost the contest.

It is apparent that livestock as a kind of capital in Sumbanese society are considered differently from economic goods in our own society. Value need not be and indeed is not reckoned in terms of economic expenditures. The Sumbanese have their own values and their own form of economy by which they uphold their values. When viewed in terms of their values, their conduct makes sense.

Possessions nevertheless have important economic significance primarily as objects of exchange determined by relations within Sumbanese society. This exchange system has its own rules which are related to the structure of the society. Various economic goods circulate along fixed lines for a purpose other than the obtaining of wealth. It serves, above all, to maintain and enforce bonds between certain groups that stand in a fixed

relation to one another—an ordered connubium consisting of a group of wife-givers (east Sumbanese: *jera*; west Sumbanese: *loka*) and a group of wife-takers (east Sumbanese: *ana kawini*; west Sumbanese: *ndòma*). Economy and kinship relations, or economy and social structure, are so closely connected that they cannot be considered separately. To understand the relationship requires an understanding of the structure of the society.

The inhabitants of the island of Sumba live in a number of districts or domains (*tana*) and are organized in a number of kin groups (*kabisu*), each of which constitutes an inclusive social unit. A *kabisu*, the most significant social unit on the island, is an exogamous patrilineal clan; descent is reckoned in the male line from father to son. Within a *kabisu* all members of the same generation but of the opposite sex are considered as brothers and sisters. Marriage between such brothers and sisters is precluded, for it would be incestuous. A union between two members of a *kabisu* is regarded as a special offense, called *ndjala* (or *ndala, zala*), that is dangerous to the entire group. It follows, then, that a *kabisu* cannot exist on its own. A *kabisu* requires another *kabisu* with which to maintain a marriage exchange. But one such group is insufficient, because, as a rule, reciprocal marriage exchange may never occur between two *kabisu*. Each *kabisu* thus needs two other groups: one group in which its young men can find wives and another into which its young women may marry.

The simplest model is that of three *kabisu* (A, B, and C) in which women from A are given in marriage to B, women from B to C, and from C to A. Each group is thus a wife-giver to one *kabisu* and a wife-taker from another. The overwhelming preference for marriage on Sumba has been and still is the marriage of a young man with the daughter of his mother's brother; in this way the relationship between groups is perpetuated in successive generations. In choosing a wife, a man goes to the group, and, if possible, to the very house, from which his mother came. He does not "clear a new track" nor does he begin to "cut a new piece of forest." His mother's brother is his potential father-in-law. The mother's brother is the *mata we'e pawalinala/pola pingi darana* ("the spring from which he comes/the trunk from which he is cut"). He—or rather the group that he represents—is the wife-giver. In choosing a wife, a man goes to his mother's *bina palouzo/nauta pamburu* ("the door from which she came/the steps from which she descended"). Women thus move in one direction. Although in practice this system is more

complicated, the model allows us to understand the structure of Sumbanese society.

The movement of goods on Sumba is closely connected with and determined by relationships between kin groups. Not only in arranging marriages but throughout the life cycle, these groups depend on each other and turn to each other to obtain goods that they need for specific occasions. The most prominent exchange of goods is the exchange of bridewealth (*wili*, *wèli*) and the countergift (east Sumbanese: *mbola ngàndi*, "basket of the bride"; west Sumbanese: *kamba wawi*, "cloth and pigs"). In east Sumba, bridewealth can also be referred to by the word "banda" (meaning "livestock" in this context) and the counter-gift by *kamba* ("cloth"). All goods of bridewealth and all required countergifts are distinguished as either "male" or "female." Female goods move in the same direction as the women who marry out; male goods go in the opposite direction, as gifts to the bride's family. The most important part of the bridewealth given by the wife-takers to the wife-givers is large livestock and gold objects. In east Sumba, livestock consist mainly of horses; in west Sumba, of water buffalo. In east Sumba, for every two horses that are given, four earrings are added, each connected by a *lulu àmahu*, a chain of precious metal. In west Sumba, each water buffalo is given with a lance, the "rope" by which it is led. Female goods given by the bride's family include pieces of cloth, ornaments (especially ivory bracelets), and pigs. One of the special tasks of a young woman at her new home is *tauna pèni manu/tauna nga'a wawi* ("to feed the chickens/to give the pigs to eat").

Marriage is only one of many occasions on which gifts are exchanged. In numerous circumstances, these kin groups—*jera* and *ana kawini*, or *loka* and *ndòma*—depend on each other. The continual exchange of goods, which binds these groups together over generations, is described as the moving to and fro of the *mamata mameni* ("the raw and the cooked," that is, all the things by which each group serves the other). For male goods, a person turns to the *ana kawini*, or *ndòma*; for female goods to the *jera*, or *loka*. Thus, in time of need the Sumbanese seek necessary food supplies (*mandara*) by these well-known ways and proven means. But the Sumbanese seize every opportunity to activate and preserve the bonds on which their lives depend.

From both a social and an economic point of view, however, the people of Sumba are living in a period of transition. As I have tried to show, possessions on Sumba, as elsewhere in the

world, cannot be considered on their own, but must be seen in terms of broad social and religious relationships. These relationships are now breaking down. I have already mentioned the purely economic attitude to cattle. As the Sumbanese come increasingly to regard their possessions in an economic sense, I can only hope that they will view these goods in the proper context, without which these possessions could become a dangerous and threatening power. I can only hope that the Sumbanese people will find a new control over their possessions—one that will provide a new context and a new respect.

9 Structural Aspects of East Sumbanese Art

Marie Jeanne Adams

ON THE EASTERN HALF OF SUMBA, craftswomen produce boldly designed, colorful cotton mantles, which are the major visual art of the island. Decorated by dyeing and worn as wrap-around garments by men only on ceremonial occasions, the mantles exhibit many plant, animal, and human figures arranged in complex symmetrical compositions. Intensive examination shows that beyond the readily evident compositional features are structural principles, which provide clear and demonstrable links with the intellectual order of Sumbanese society, and thus give the subject its broad interest.

This paper owes its emphasis on structural links within a culture directly to studies of other Indonesian data by Dutch ethnologists in the first half of the twentieth century. They became aware of the "symbolic dualism" of Indonesian beliefs, which, they thought, structured social groups, myths, and rituals "with monotonous and suggestive stubbornness" (J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong, 1935, p. 13). Using ethnographies of eastern Indonesian islands, van Wouden (1935) drew attention also to subtleties and variations within the dual sets and to the existence of triadic models, particularly in myths and social organization. The more abstract problems that he raised (such as the double antithesis between a triadic, asymmetric organization and one that is binary and symmetrical) are both stimulating and relevant to my analysis.

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The approximately 100,000 inhabitants of the eastern half of Sumba live in small agricultural settlements, scattered thinly on the barren coastal plateaus and more densely in the fertile interior highlands. As in many areas of eastern Indonesia, the people of east Sumba have developed a distinctive local culture from traditions common to the region.

Passively resistant to both Islam and Christianity, the people maintain their village traditions. Worship focuses on ritual offerings, in house-temples or at certain outdoor locations, of food and treasure to the founder-ancestor. Large offerings are celebrated with communal festivals, featuring buffalo slaughter followed by rice and meat meals.

In each of the traditional 16 districts (reduced by the Indonesian government to 6 administrative units), there is a capital, a village that serves as both a ceremonial center and a place of residence for royal families and heads of large kinship groups.¹ In it, large high-peaked houses provide clan headquarters and temples for the various patrilineages. Lower-ranking members of the society live outside the village, near rice and maize fields, and gather at the capital only on formal occasions. Management and leadership are exclusively the prerogatives of men. However, women perform important tasks in economic and religious activities. One of their tasks is the making of decorated textiles.

According to custom, only women of the coastal districts practice the craft of dyeing designs onto men's cloths. (For a discussion of techniques, see Adams, 1969, 1972). The most valued kind of mantle worn by men is the *hinggi kombu* which exhibits two colors, rust and blue.² This mantle, approximately 2.7 meters in length and 1.4 meters in width, manifests the most complex composition found in Indonesian textiles. The upper half of the mantle is identical to the lower, except that the designs are oriented in opposite directions from the center. A fine cloth has an uneven number of alternating blue and rust bands, each containing a row of figures (see figure 9.1). The central band (centerfield) is characterized by schematic designs of four-part, or quadrangular, form, and the other bands (which compose the endfields) display figurative designs in three-part, or triangular, units, as figure 9.1 shows. Valued as wealth and used as ceremonial costumes, these beautiful, technically complex cloths are prominent in east Sumbanese life.

Because of the difficult skills and esoteric knowledge required for their manufacture, the decorated textiles are inherently

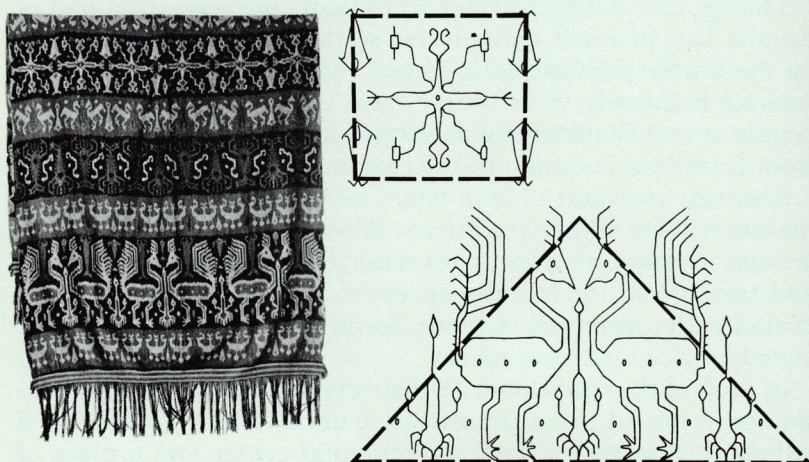


Figure 9.1. The *hinggi kombu*. The photograph shows the detail of the lower half plus the full central band of a typical *hinggi*; the only difference between the upper and lower halves is that the designs are oriented in opposite directions from the center. The sketches show the designs in the centerfield and in the major band of the endfield; the broken lines illustrate the conceptual ordering of the designs. (Photograph from Museum für Völkerkunde, Basel)

valuable objects, and they are important in gift exchange throughout east Sumba. In traditional Sumbanese society, there are no open markets. Goods, labor, services, and women are given and received by groups through a widespread ritualized system of gift exchange. This system is seen in its most typical form at marriage, which requires an exchange of entities classified by the Sumbanese as either “masculine” (that is, metal goods, such as gold ornaments, which are given by the groom as bridewealth) or “feminine” (that is, the bride and her counter-gift of decorated textiles). The significance of the exchange, which constitutes a contractual agreement between the parties, arises from a fundamental belief in the value of a symbolic unity that is made up of complementary or opposing components, such as masculine and feminine.

During major ceremonies, decorated textiles serve as ceremonial cloths. The fundamental ritual is the construction of a house-temple for the ruling family, for this validates the community’s claim as a capital village. In the final act of consecrating the royal temple, a functionary must bring a sacred textile to the peak of the tall roof when he installs the small wooden fig-



An east Sumbanese weaver (Ana Hida of Pajeti) passing a bobbin of yarn through an opening created by separating alternate warp strands. The designs, which have been dyed into the warp strands, are clearly visible in the unwoven section. (Copyright © 1980 by Marie Jeanne Adams)

ures that represent the ancestors. When an important person is buried, a decorated cloth on a pole is placed on the gravestone as it is dragged to the center of the village. In both rites, the cloth seems to represent a sail from the ship of the ancestors, whose voyage is recalled in accompanying sacred chants. The importance of cloth in rituals was quite evident when I was in the Kapunduku district: the poor harvest was attributed to the failure to carry the sacred textile banner during the opening rites of the planting season.

Decorated textiles are also essential elements of ceremonial costumes. Formal dress for men is a pair of cloths, one around the hips and the other draped over the shoulder. Great festivals warrant the wearing of beautiful mantles by important nobles, dancers, and other ritual functionaries. Dressing performers is itself a critical rite. Royal dead are shrouded in dozens of mantles so that they may continue to live in luxury in the afterlife, or "upperworld."

An examination of hundreds of men's decorated textiles, or *hinggi*, collected over the past hundred years shows that there are principles that consistently order the designs into a struc-

tured whole. These ordering principles parallel the formal principles by which major activities of the society are organized.

The first important principle of composition is the ordering of designs into a dyadic-triadic set. This term summarizes the relationships among the three design sections of the cloth and between each two sections. The arrangement of designs within the bands divides the surface into three areas: two endfields (upper and lower), containing designs that are identical but oriented in opposite directions (when the cloth hangs from the center, these designs stand upright), and one unique centerfield, consisting of designs that are bifacial (that is, they face both directions, so they are identical when viewed from either endfield). Thus, the cloth comprises a pair of opposed but identical endfields plus a bifacial centerfield, which from its pivotal position exhibits a like relation to either end.

This dyadic-triadic principle is unmistakable in the organization of villages. Let us consider, as one example, the largest known capital village, Paraingu Umalulu, which was formerly the royal seat of the Melolo district. As sketched by a surviving chief, the plan exhibits a division into three main sections (see figure 9.2). The ends, occupied by warrior clans, are each led by a king, and the two kings have equal royal status. The center belongs to four priestly clans, which mediate disputes and serve both sides equally in all religious matters. Sharing the pivotal

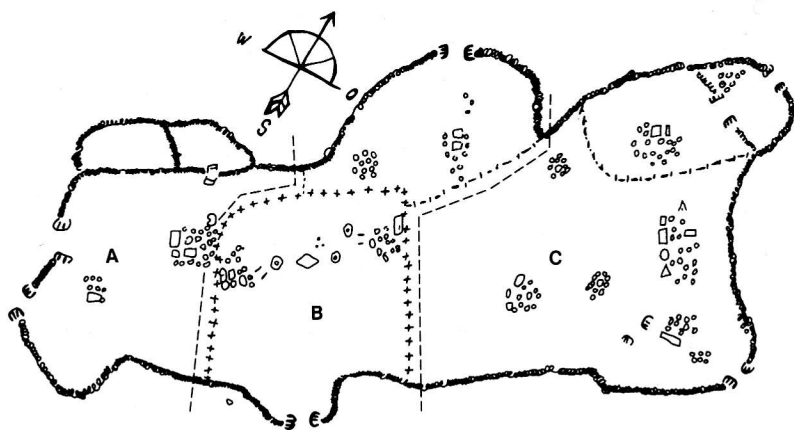


Figure 9.2. The layout of the former capital village Paraingu Umalulu in the Melolo district, as sketched by Umbu Tanangundju (1968), traditional head of the Watu Pelitu clan and present district officer of Melolo

central area are four other clans, which assist the priestly clans and which are free to join the cause of either warrior group.

The dyadic-triadic relationship is also evident in the marriage system and the related flow of gift exchange. Stated in the simplest abstract terms, a clan house (say, B) must take its wives from another clan (A) and give its daughters as brides to a third clan (C). (Mutual exchange of women between two family groups is not permitted.) In terms of the counterbalancing flow of the essential bridewealth and counter gifts, B's role of giving and receiving in relation to its wife-giver, A, is the opposite of its role in relation to its wife-taker, C. Although in relation to B the wife-giver, A, enjoys respect and economic advantage over the wife-taker, C, the Sumbanese insist that both parties have equal status and that the gifts they give and receive are equal in value (*pahamatimbangu*). That B must, whenever it sponsors a religious festival, formally invite both its wife-giving and its wife-taking clans and exchange appropriate gifts with each—thus symbolically reaffirming the marriage ties and the unity of the group—is evidence that the three clans compose a unit.

When gift exchange through clan groups does not meet regional needs, the Sumbanese have recourse to another arrangement, which also employs the positional features characteristic of the dyadic-triadic textile composition. For example, if people of a region that yields surplus maize wish to obtain pottery from an area that has an abundance of clay, they arrange a meeting, called *pahamburungu* (to "arrange a meeting"), at a spot midway between the two areas. People from many villages in one area join their district fellows and proceed to the prearranged midpoint where they exchange goods with people from the other region (see Nooteboom, 1940). Quite unlike traders in a conventional open market, the parties negotiate in advance to establish a ratio of exchange quantities so that the goods brought by both sides will be equal. Thus, two sides balanced in a formal way (that is, in terms of the value of their trading goods) meet in a central exchange area.

The term "*pahamburungu*," interestingly, is also applied by the craftswomen to the forming of textile design units that are characteristically symmetrical. Only half of a design appears in each pattern model that guides the complex weaving of women's skirts. In executing the full design, a craftswoman "causes the two sides to meet," or *pahamburungu*. I saw a clear example of this named process when a royal wife in Melolo was planning a fine headcloth. She decided to imitate a design from

a silk cloth that I had brought. The cloth, an imported *patola* from India, is a traditional possession of Sumbanese royalty and a source of borrowing for the centerfield designs. She selected a small plant design—a central flowering stalk and two flanking leaves—that I saw as a complete unit. To my surprise she used this as only half of the design for her cloth. By repeating the plant, base joined to base, she proceeded to form a bifacial schema. As she explained it: *Pahamburudunjda; jiada bau pahamburungu* ("I caused them (the two sides) to meet, indeed; that is the way they are when you make them meet").

Yet another example of bifacial dynamics in a triadic group is evident from the manner in which formal negotiations are conducted. All group undertakings (marriages, funerals, visits, reconciliations) are conducted by spokesmen, who employ a richly poetic ceremonial language. Within the host's house the parties follow a customary seating arrangement. The host and the guest sit on opposite sides of the main hall; between them, the speakers for each party sit on a mat and face each other. Whatever is stated by one side's negotiator is acknowledged by the other speaker, who then turns to his party and conveys the message. Thus the speakers, or *wunangu* ("heddle"), serve as a bifacial central unit. By calling a negotiator a heddle, the Sumbanese accurately describe the mediator's special pivotal function between two equal parties, for in weaving, a heddle acts as a go-between. (On Sumba, the heddle is a stringed, wooden bar used to shift alternately two layers of warp yarn and thereby "negotiate" the crossing of strands that form the weave.)

Although not affirmed in abstract terms, the principle of organizing interrelationships on a structure of two formally equal parties mediated by a central element that serves the flanking parties equally or in reverse is firmly established in social practice. Figure 9.3 summarizes diagrammatically the application of this principle in various aspects of east Sumbanese society.

A second principle in the composition of the men's textiles is mirror image. For a formal costume, the two cloths, a horizontally wrapped cloth and a vertically draped shoulder cloth, must be identical. Each cloth has two identical panels, left and right. The upper and lower parts form mirror-image halves around the center, and the designs on the bands either are repeated or appear in mirrored sets of confronted or addorsed pairs.

Mirror image is the essence of the Sumbanese concept of the community's place in relation to the supernatural order. The or-

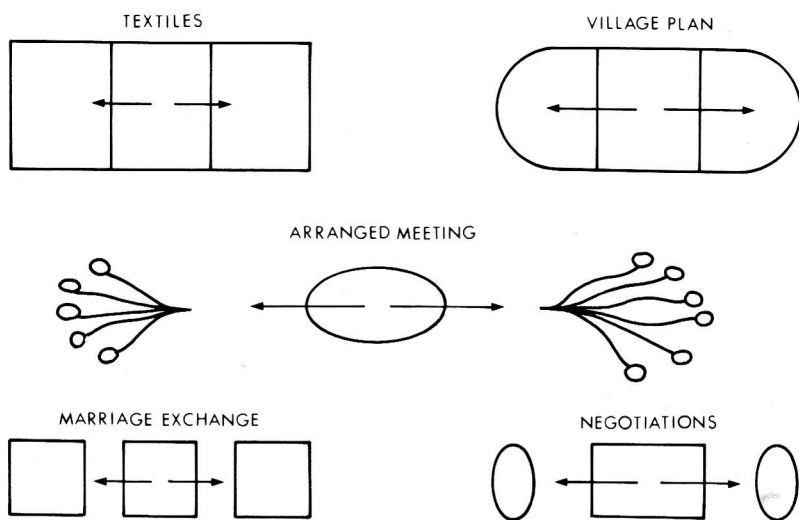


Figure 9.3. A diagrammatic summary of dyadic-triadic sets, showing the directional function of the center in relation to two equal ends

ganized community (that is, the rule of life in the hilltop villages) is, according to numerous ritual chants:

Na mauna la mara, The shadow on the dry land,
Na ninuna la wai. The reflection on the waters.

In other words, it is a reflection, a shadow of the forms in the upperworld of the imagined cosmos.

The mirror-image principle is also evident in the parallelism of ceremonial language. Formal speech proceeds through a series of couplets using figurative images in pairs to convey a common meaning. The two images of a pair may be alike in character or opposite:

Alike

Na kura pawukungu/na karunggu Rice is the sought-after shrimp/
pamangarangu. the desired crab.

Opposite

Ina Konda/Ama Ratu. The Founder-Deity is the Mother
 Captain/the Father Priest.

Parallelism of expression in ceremonial language is the rule.

Ritual substitution is another version of mirror images. A person of high royalty is distinguished by his possession of a name-servant, who is the bosom companion of the noble person and who serves as his deputy; the servant's name becomes the noble's common name. For example, one prince is called Umbu nai Pombu ("Umbu nai": "Lord of"; "Pombu": the name of the servant), or Lord of Pombu. When serving as the lord's deputy, the name-servant is accorded royal treatment. At a royal wedding the bride's name-servant (*ana mamoha*: "decorated one") acts as a ritual substitute for the bride. Dressed in a special costume, including a headdress and veil, the bride's name-servant is "captured" by the groom's party and sits in state throughout the marriage festival, which is held in the groom's village. At a royal burial, a costumed servant, representing the spirit of the deceased as it begins its journey to the underworld, rides a horse to the grave.

In social relations, an important concept is expressed by the word *papa* ("as one hand is to another", that is, "counterpart"). Depending on the point of view taken, two hands can be seen as a like pair or as an opposed pair. When both palms are either up or down, the orientation of one hand is opposite that of the other; palm to palm, two hands share orientation and form a matching unit. The Sumbanese use this position of "matching the hands" (*pamerangu la lima*) as a symbol for negotiations. The mediator's leading invocation incorporates it as a metaphor:

- | | |
|---------------------------|--|
| Ka da pahamangu la ngaru, | That the mouths will become the same, |
| Ka da pamerangu la lima. | That the hands will be matched evenly. |

The Sumbanese word "papa" applies therefore to both complementary and opposing social roles. For example, each clan's partner in rituals is called *papa hindaku/papa nggoru*, a reference to the sharing of tasks when water buffalo and pigs are slaughtered for sacrifices, and the traditional enemy of the village is termed *papa tondi/papa wara*, a reference to the beating of the war drum and the shouting of insults in traditional combat.

The third principle of composition is the use of the favorite numbers stratified according to value. The favored numbers are 2, 4, 8, and 2×8 . The number 2 is significant in individual mirror-image concepts; 4 is favored in the arrangement of social af-

fairs; 8, "the perfect, the fulfilling number," relates to ceremonial matters; and 2×8 signals extraordinary concerns (high royalty or the cosmic sphere, for instance). Sumbanese in the Kapunduku district believe that the rules (*horu*) governing the community derive from eight Priest Deities who founded the original settlement on Sumba; the name of that settlement, the capital Uma Walu Nonggulu ("Houses at Eight Levels"), symbolizes the ritual order. The Sumbanese conception of the cosmos—that the capital rests between the eight layers of heaven and the eight levels of earth and sea—illustrates the link between 2×8 and the cosmic sphere (see figure 9.4).

The favored numbers appear in Sumbanese textiles in the paired designs, the two mirrored panels, and in the four identical quarters of each cloth. The number 8 relates to the bands and the layers of designs. On either half of the cloth, the Sumbanese name four bands: *talaba wawa* ("lower border"), *hei* ("comb" or "crest") or *tau* ("body"), *talaba dita* ("upper border"), and *la padua* ("center"). There are commonly four sections on the cloths. In fact, even if there are more rows, as in figure 9.1, the Sumbanese consistently name only four sections on each side and group any sections above the *talaba dita* with *la*

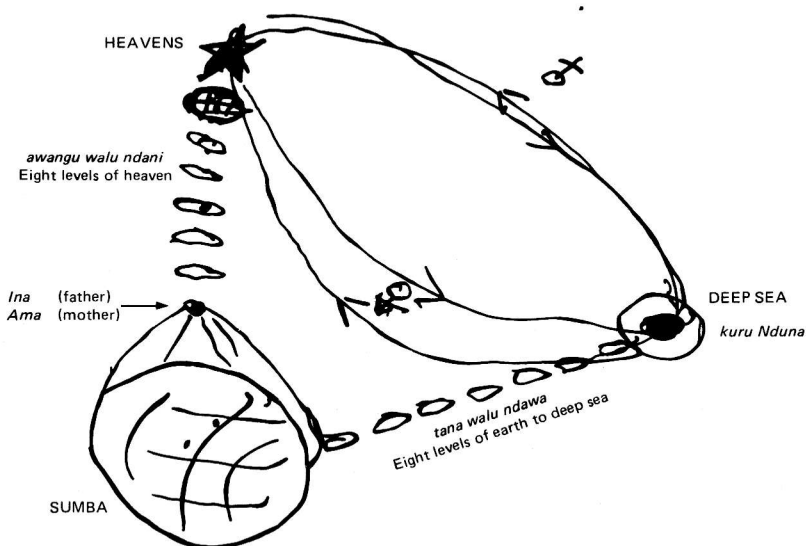


Figure 9.4. The east Sumbanese view of the cosmic sphere, as sketched by Umbu Tanangundju (1968). The drawing shows the eight layers of heaven and the eight levels of earth and sea.

padua, the center. Stratification is also evident. The large, visually dominant hei band, flanked by two subordinate rows, gives the textile its proper name, while the center, la padua (also called *kundu duku*: "worn on the shoulder"), is the most significant part of the textile whose designs are linked especially with status or sacredness (see Adams, 1971).

The Sumbanese organize capital villages according to the favored numbers in ranked order. Eight units, or *uma* ("houses"), representing clans and lineages and ranked according to their duties in building the main temple, are essential for a community to attain the status of a capital (*paraingu*); and 16 (or 2×8) are required for a big capital (*paraingu bokulu*). Responsibilities within a capital are assigned in a formal way to units of 2, 4, and 8 clans. In the Kapunduku district, for example, the 4 clans on the downstream side handled weighty (*ma mbotu*) negotiations; the 4 located upstream dealt with lighter (*ma halimu*) matters. The precise distribution of functions varies from one capital to another, but common to all capitals is the representation of the community in all formal speech by the names and titles of 4 clans.³ (See Adams, 1970, 1974, for a more detailed discussion of the distribution of functions.)

Bridewealth too is quoted in terms of the favored numbers; and the higher the social status of the bride's family, the greater the bridewealth. For a royal marriage, 2×8 and further multiples of 8 are used.⁴ In fact, as a matter of prestige, the quantity given may far exceed the formal numbers.

During major rituals, performed by 8 functionaries, 8 offerings are made. Essential to the funeral of a member of high royalty is a group of specially dressed attendants (*tau papaterangu*). The group formally consists of 8 men and 8 women (or 2×8) who are named according to the services they perform—such as, for the more important ritual tasks, the one who rides the horse, the one who carries the *sirih* service, the one who cooks the meal (for the dead); and, for the lesser tasks, the one who cuts the grass (for the horse), the one who prepares the coconut meat (for the meal). In practice, however, there may be 40 or more such attendants.

Sequences of ritual festivals are planned on a scale of increasing size and importance according to a schedule of 4, 8, and 16 (2×8) years. If, in fact, a festival cannot be held, it is postponed for 2 years. And the number of days that a festival lasts is also measured according to the favored numbers by phrases such as *na rehi patu* ("four-time") and *na rehi walu* ("eight-time"). The event may span more days, but only official days are counted.

The three principles (dyadic-triadic set, mirror image, and favored numbers linked with stratification) are not the only ones displayed in east Sumba textile composition or by the cultural order but they represent major ones. And not only do east Sumbanese craftswomen employ the three principles, but these women have also resolved the intellectual problem of combining the principles in a single cloth in a harmonious and subtle manner.

By pointing out that in east Sumba textiles and certain major aspects of communal life exhibit common ordering principles, I am not suggesting that art reflects society, but rather that both art and society respond to the same structural principles. All the examples that I have drawn from social life belong to the formal, organized ceremonial sphere. Decorated textiles are but one element in a complex ritual order that is organized, partly in explicit terms and partly at a nonverbal level, according to certain principles. These principles form part of the intellectual traditions of the Sumbanese people; although perhaps shared with other peoples of eastern Indonesia, these traditions find a unique form and emphasis in Sumbanese society.

The use of these principles is not dictated by technique, as even a quick survey of typical cloths made on nearby islands by peoples who use the same technique and working equipment reveals. The dyadic-triadic arrangement does not appear in cloths from Timor or Flores. Wraps from these islands and ones from Sulawesi (Celebes) have three or four panels instead of two. The upper and lower ends of large ceremonial cloths from Kalimantan (Borneo) exhibit different designs and thus fail to create a mirror-image effect. Furthermore, none of the cloths made on any of these islands are characterized by an emphasis on two, four, and eight design units or sections. In sum, they exhibit great differences from east Sumbanese cloths in the division of the field and in the ordering of the designs.

The principles I have discussed seem to be shaped by Sumbanese aesthetic preferences. "Aesthetic" in this context refers not simply to standards of beauty but also to preferences for particular forms. In the formation of and the continued adherence to these principles, the Sumbanese have made choices which continue to endorse the kind and nature of forms they prefer. Other societies may achieve similar goals by using quite different styles, for example by employing shifting, anonymous, vague, asymmetric, and irregularly numbered units or groupings. Ultimately, the character of problem-solving approaches represents aesthetic choices.

The Sumbanese ceremonial order demonstrates a high degree of integration, which may be due to a strong aesthetic preference for consistent tone. Such integration may be unique to Sumba, but it is more likely a frequent phenomenon stemming from deeply rooted aesthetic preferences in Indonesia. (Integration in other Indonesian cultures is discussed in Tobing, 1956; Suzuki, 1959; and Cunningham, 1964; see Adams, 1974, for a discussion of a cluster of interrelated east Sumbanese symbols.)

Elsewhere in Indonesia, the material art form that serves as the major document of structural preference may not be textiles and the principles followed may not be the same as those applied in Sumba. In the Ngada district in neighboring Flores, for example, textiles, though important in gift exchange and as ceremonial costumes, are extremely simple in design; on the other hand, wood carvings set in temple entrances exhibit a complex ordering of elaborate motifs. Such differences indicate that each locality must be investigated for its own formulas.

That textiles on Sumba have become a major vehicle for expressing a structural preference (that is, the Sumbanese emphasis on categories of explicitly dualistic character) may be related to the feminine/masculine classification system. Quintessentially a women's medium, textiles are typically contrasted with metal goods, associated with male activities. Bipolar division into masculine and feminine categories is particularly prominent in the Sumbanese intellectual system. The Sumbanese consider textiles, as they do women in a clan household, impermanent. Thus, cloths provide the feminine counterpart to masculine metal goods, which are regarded as permanent.

In relation to textiles, masculine and feminine, it seems to me, are implicitly linked with two other sets of qualities: tangible versus intangible and overt versus covert. Although these terms are not verbalized as pairs by the Sumbanese, the concepts they represent are essential features of rituals, as evidenced, for example, by the exchange of material objects to validate a verbal agreement and by the well demarcated public and private aspects of rites. The implicit, or covert, statement of structural principles in the tangible form of decorated cloths executed by women mirrors the statement of the same principles in the overt or organizational rules maintained in the minds of men and expressed in the intangible form of utterances. The decorated textiles, which incorporate an intellectually refined application of major structural principles, thus are but one manifestation of a broader, more encompassing order—the thought system of the Sumbanese people.

10 The Order and Significance of the Savunese House

N. L. Kana

Translated from the Indonesian
by James J. Fox

ALTHOUGH VAN Wouden devoted only a few scant paragraphs to a discussion of Savu in *Types of Social Structure in Eastern Indonesia*, he later recognized the importance of the island's social structure to the development of his theoretical model (van Wouden, 1956, p. 205). This chapter examines the order and significance of the Savunese house; its object is to show that the Savunese house, like the Timorese house (Cunningham, 1964), is a particular expression of the asymmetric dualism that van Wouden recognized as an organizing principle throughout eastern Indonesia.

This chapter focuses on the territory of Mahara, one of the four traditional districts into which the island of Savu is divided (van Wouden, 1968, p. 61). Without fully comprehending Savunese culture, the Dutch originally recognized Mahara as a separate *kerajaan* but later changed its status to a *kefetoran* when the island itself was made a single *kerajaan*. At present, Savu is divided into two *kecamatan*. The former *kefetoran* of Mahara, Haba, and the offshore island of Raijua form the *kecamatan* of west Savu, and the *kefetoran* of Liae and Dimu form the *kecamatan* of east Savu. Although Mahara is no longer formally regarded as an administrative territory, in practice it is still considered a unit on its own. An administrative assistant in Mahara assists the *Camat*, who resides in the town of Haba in Seba. Administratively, Mahara consists of seven "new-effort" *desa* ("vil-

lages"), but these desa are approximately the same village areas that were assigned to *Temukun* during the colonial period.

Mahara is considered one of the three most isolated territories on Savu in terms of its relations with the outside world. The land is extremely poor and much of it is heavily eroded. Compared with Haba and Dimu, Mahara and the other territories of Savu still preserve their old customary way of life. Whereas in Haba and Dimu traditional villages have been deserted by their inhabitants and only a minority of villagers carry out the proper rituals, traditional villages in Mahara and Liae and on the island of Raijua are still preserved and the majority of their inhabitants faithfully conduct their various ceremonies. The significance of the Savunese house can be appreciated only in relation to these traditional territories and their ceremonies (see Fox, 1979b).

Savunese Spacial Orientation and Imagery

The Savunese compare their island (which they call Rai Hawu) to a living being.¹ In terms of this image, Savu is positioned with its "head" to the west and with its "tail" to the east. Thus, Savu is traditionally divided as follows: Mahara (located at the island's western end) forms Savu's "head" (*kàtu*); Haba and Liae (in the center) are the "chest" (*kodo*) and the "stomach" (*dàlu*), respectively; and Dimu (in the east) is the tail (*rulai*). In Mahara, the territory that is classified as the head, there are various places whose names refer to the parts of a head. Thus, for example, a bay on the southern coast of Mahara, where a particular postharvest ceremony is performed is called Uba Ae ("Great Mouth"), while the western cape of Mahara, where a ceremony is held if the rains fail, is named We'o Rai ("Land's Tongue").

The Savunese also conceive of their island as a *perahu*. The western territory of Mahara, which has a hilly terrain, is considered the "bow" of the land (*duru rai*) and Dimu, which has a relatively flat terrain, is considered the "base" or "stern" (*wui rai*). A number of ceremonial sites are associated with this image. In Mahara, for example, a number of ceremonies connected with lontar-tapping activities in the dry season are held at rock formations in two places whose names refer to the parts of a *perahu*: Wowadu Mola Uli Rai ("Straight Stone Rudder of the Land") and Wowadu Mola Uli Kowa ("Straight Stone Rudder of the Perahu"). According to a Savunese legend, lontar juice—a prime source of Savunese subsistence—was brought to Savu



A Savunese house with the traditional overhanging "leaf-neck" (*ru-koko*) in the village of Daba, the ceremonial center of Liae (Copyright © 1980 by James J. Fox)

from the west by a perahu and was channeled beneath the ground to the island's lontar palms. The ceremony at Wowadu Mola Uli Rai, performed in the middle of the tapping season, is intended to insure a continuing flow of lontar juice. It is held in a gully near what was once a tiny stream. This spot is lower than the surrounding area and represents the place where the perahu's rudder became stuck. The stern was lower than the bow, which continued to sail forward. Once the lontar tapping is well under way, the Savunese consider it necessary to "straighten the land's rudder" so that it points in the direction that will guarantee the success of the tapping. This ceremony is followed by another, which is performed at Wowadu Mola Uli Kowa, the lodging place of the rudder of the perahu used by the Savunese who went in search of lontar juice—according to one legend, during a famine some Savunese once sailed in search of

lontar juice and returned to Savu when they found some—and is intended to reaffirm the requests made at Wowadu Mola Uli Rai for a continuing flow and a high yield from the lontar palms.

In Mahara, there is yet another ceremonial site, the location of the “keel” of the island (*kàni rai*). The ceremony performed at this spot marks the change of seasons, for the Savunese regard each change of season as the work of a being who is located at the keel of the island. He turns the base of a golden pole beneath the earth near this keel to shift the seasons.

The image of a *perahu* appears even more clearly in the arrangement of traditional Savunese villages, which are called *rae kowa* (“*perahu* villages”). A *perahu* village is conceived of as a group of people who are safely protected as passengers on a *perahu*. The ground plan and the divisions of such a village reflect this conception. The stone fence that forms an oval shape around each village marks the outline of the *perahu*, and the parts of a village are named after parts of a *perahu*. The high part of the village is the *dida rae* but is also referred to as the *duru rae*, or “bow” of the village; the lower part of the village is both *wawa rae* and *wui rae*, or “stern”; the lowest part of the *wawa rae* is called the *uli rae* (“rudder”). All of this clearly indicates that the Savunese conceive of a village as a *perahu*. Ideally, a village should be arranged in an east–west direction and in accordance with the layout of the island itself. Thus the bow of the village should be turned to the west, which again confirms the importance of this direction.

The Savunese themselves cannot explain why they use two images for their island: that of a living being and that of a *perahu*. But these two images are used consistently. The head is classified as equivalent to the bow and is regarded as being higher than the part of the island that is classified as the tail or stern. Moreover, in both images, the head or bow is located in the west; the tail or stern in the east. The fact that the Savunese consider the lontar to have come from the west suggests that they value the west as a source of life or place of origin. This has to be related to other Savunese ideas and to their ceremonial performances. Raijua (the tiny island to the west of Savu), for example, occupies a central place in Savunese conceptions because it is considered the island from which the land of Savu originated. During the *hole* ceremony, which follows the harvest in Mahara, each house (*àmu*) brings a small leaf container filled with sorghum and green grams as a symbolic payment for the

land (*ihi rai*).² The containers from each of the *àmu* are collected at the *nada rae* ("gathering place") in each village.³ From there, the containers are collectively carried to the ceremonial site at Uba Ae, where all the leaf containers, filled with the *ihi rai* from all over Mahara, are put on a tiny *perahu*, which is set to sea in the direction of Raijua. Besides conceiving of the origin of their island from the west, Savunese also have a legend that attributes the coming of the first human beings to Savu from the west; the belief that when they die they will journey by *perahu* to the other world in the west; and the practice of placing every ceremonially slaughtered animal face down with its head to the west. All of this indicates the importance of the west to the Savunese and its associations as origin and end.

"*Àmu*" ("house") has two senses in Savunese. In addition to a physical structure, "*àmu*" refers to a group of genealogically related people who are descended from a single ancestor (*àpu*) who founded the house. In this second sense, the Savunese house assumes an important role as a structural unit in matters relating to land, property (particularly livestock), and marriage. More broadly still, the Savunese house must be considered in its contextual relation to the village (*rae*) and to ideas that the Savunese have about their island.

The houses in a village form a row along the edge of the village, the center of which is left empty. This central area is the *telora rae* (*telora*: "middle" or "center"). Although the natural terrain may prevent a perfect arrangement, the village should be laid out as best as possible in an east-west direction. All houses must therefore either have their bows to the west (*àuru wa*) or to the east (*àuru àimu*). Such a layout is based on Savunese ideas about luck and misfortune. A house that is positioned incorrectly "cuts the land" (*àta rai*), that is, it crosscuts the lengthwise direction of the island of Savu. This crosscutting direction is acceptable only for the grave of someone who has, as the Savunese say, "died salty" (*made hàro*). *Made hàro* is an "unnatural" death—for example, anyone who drowns or commits suicide or who dies from being struck by lightning or by falling from a lontar palm dies salty. Therefore, a house that cuts the island is considered contrary to the layout of Savu. It is considered bad, dangerous, and salty, as opposed to a properly situated house, which is considered good, safe, and, as the Savunese say, "sweet" (*nàta*).

The Order and Arrangement of the Savunese House

Houses on Savu are of two kinds: true "Savunese houses" (*àmu Hawu*) and non-Savunese houses or "foreign houses" (*àmu Jawa*).⁴ Savunese houses, which are always raised on poles, are distinguished as either *àmu ae nga rukoko* or *àmu taga batu*. The first refers to houses that are constructed in such a way that their ridge poles extend outward and are covered with a leaf thatch to form an overhanging "leaf-neck" (*rukoko*). *Àmu taga batu*, on the other hand, are constructed from curved pieces of wood that are joined to form a half circle (see figure 10.1). An *àmu ae nga rukoko* is, in effect, an elaboration of an *àmu taga batu*, for an *amu ae nga rukoko* employs the *taga batu* construction. All other houses—those built on the ground and those not built in the *taga batu* manner—are classified as foreign.⁵

A Savunese house has platforms (*kelaga*) at three levels: the *kelaga rai*, the platform at ground level; the *kelaga ae*, the floor platform, which rests on the main beams of the house; and the *kelaga dāmu*, the loft platform. The *kelaga rai* extends along the entire front, or "right side," of the house except in front of the doors that lead up into the house. The right side is determined in relation to the *ḍuru* or bow, of the house. If the bow is turned to the west, the right side is to the north whereas if the bow is to the east, the right side is to the south.

The *kelaga rai*, which is elevated approximately 0.50–0.75

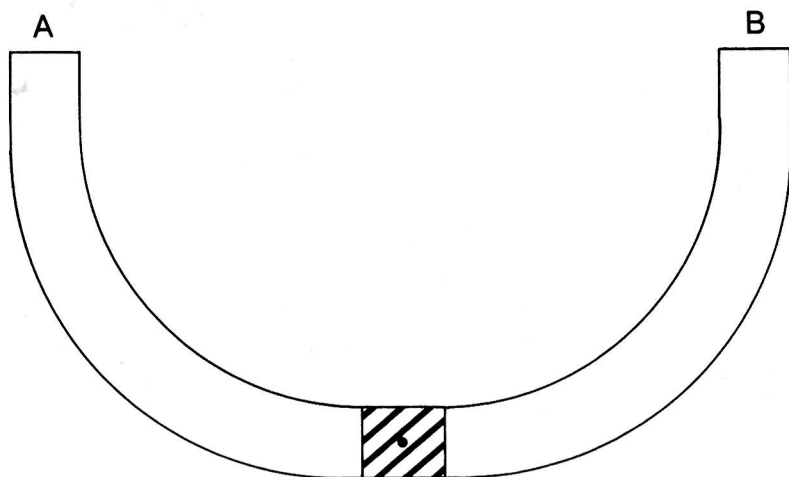


Figure 10.1. *Taga batu*. One end of A is pressed against and joined with one end of B. A is at the front, or right, of the house and B is at the back, or left.

meter from the ground, is divided, like the house itself, into two parts: the *kelaga rai ñuru* and the *kelaga rai wui*. Male guests are seated and received by the man of the house on the *ñuru* side; hence, by association, the *ñuru* side is the "male" side of the house. Flat river stones are laid in front of the house on the *ñuru* side. This is called the *dea* and is the place where men sit and work when it is not raining. Women, on the other hand, are received by the woman of the house on the *wui* ("female") side, and they tend to sit and work there.

The next platform is the *kelaga ae* ("the main platform" or "the platform that rests on the main beams"). About 0.50–0.75 meter above the *kelaga rai*, this platform is thus 1.0–1.5 meters above the ground.⁶ This platform too is divided into a *ñuru* and a *wui* side. Each of the four main beams (*ae*) that support the main platform as well as the two that support the loft is placed so that its base, or "head" (*kātu*), is on the *ñuru* side and its end, or "tail" (*rulai*), is on the *wui* side. The heads of all these beams are allowed to jut out slightly and are cut so that they resemble the bow of a *perahu*. When food is served, the men of the house and their guests eat on the *ñuru* side of this platform; women and their guests eat on the *wui* side.

The third platform is the *kelaga ñamu* ("loft platform"). The loft is located on the *wui* side of the house. It is closed and protected from the view of men sitting on the *ñuru* side of the house by a coconut-leaf screen called the *ketanga rohe*. The inside of the loft is dark and protected. In the loft are stored various objects used by women (food, thread, equipment). Beside the door leading into the *wui* half of the house is another door, which opens into the loft. Only women—in fact, according to custom only the *ina ñamu* ("woman of the house"), the wife of the head of the house—are allowed to enter the loft.

There are many kinds of poles in a Savunese house. Those that are buried in the ground and the ones that rest on the ground are called *geri*; those that rest on beams are called *gela*. There are two *gela* in the loft: the *gela mone*, which is the "male *gela*" and the *gela bāni*, the "female *gela*." The two principal posts in a Savunese house are referred to as *tāru*, and they too are distinguished as *ñuru* and *wui*. The *tāru ñuru* is the post at which the rituals of the house are performed. Because the *tāru wui* is not supposed to be visible to the *tāru ñuru*, a screening partition runs through the middle of the *wui* half of the house to hide the *tāru wui* from the *tāru ñuru*. The darkness of the loft also serves to hide this post. The part of the *wui* that is not separated by the

partition is the *kodo ae* ("chest") of the house; the part that is separated by the partition is the *kopo*. Cooking is done in the *kopo*, and cooking utensils are stored there. To the right and left of the *kelaga rai*, the platform is referred to as the *kelaga ruhu* ("rib platform").

All house poles are classified either as *ḍuru* or *wui* according to their position. The poles that support the thatched framework that extends beyond either end of the house are called *geri hubu* ("snout poles"), and these too are classified as *ḍuru* or *wui*. The framework for the overarching thatch at either end of the house is the *tabaka*. Its ends do not quite meet and the opening is considered the path of the "breath" of the house. Finally, the thatch on the part of the roof that extends beyond the ends of the house is called the *kāba ranga* ("cheeks").

The size of a house is determined by the number of its rafters (*worena*), that is, by the number of wooden poles that extend downward right and left from the ridge pole to the edge of the roof. Houses may have 3, 5, 7, or 9 rafters. The distance between two *worena* is a *roa*, which is also the term used for the distance between the main beams of the hull of a *perahu*. The pieces of wood that are laid across the *worena* are called *ḥadu*. The leaf thatch is tied to the *ḥadu*. The number of *ḥadu* on the roof of the front, or right side, of the house must always be uneven (9, 11, or 21) and is always one more than the number of *ḥadu* on the roof at the back, or left side, of the house. It is thus always an even number.

The Significance of the Savunese House

The same imagery that is applied to the island of Savu and to its villages appears again in the arrangement of the house. Although the Savunese do not expressly state that a house is like an overturned *perahu*, both its shape and the names given to its parts make clear that the Savunese do view it this way. The house has a bow and a stern; its beams are cut to resemble a *perahu*'s bow. The word "gela" refers both to the poles in the loft and to the masts of a *perahu*, and "roa" refers to the roof of a house as well as to the hull of a *perahu*. Like the members of a village, the members of a house form a group of passengers on a *perahu*. The image of a living being is, however, also evident in the symbolism of the various parts of the house: a house has a head, a tail, a neck, cheeks, a space through which it breathes, a chest, and ribs.

For the Savunese, a house is not just a physical structure with

a practical value; it has a spiritual significance as well. The series of ceremonies that accompany the building of a house is intended to give the house life. As Savunese say, it is given *hemanga* ("spirit" or "capacity for life").⁷ A house that has undergone these ceremonies and has *hemanga* is indeed considered a living being, like a man, animal, or plant. Thus, a house, or *àmu*, which consists of a group of persons descended from one ancestor, lives, grows, and multiplies.

That the house is divided into a male half and a female half and that men's activities are carried out on the *đuru* side and women's activities on the *wui* side illustrate an important principle of Savunese society. The members of a house (as well as the members of a village) are all related to a common ancestor in the male line. The members of a house are members of one *udu*, or patrilineal clan—the descendants of an ancestor (*àpu*) who is the base and origin of that house. Thus the marriage of a man from *àmu* A with a woman who is descended from a woman who originally came from *àmu* A is described as *bale ma kedebe kàtu ae* ("returning to grasp the head of the main beams"). The woman returns to her house of origin and to the group from which she originally "sprouted."

Another opposition implied by the division into *đuru* and *wui* is one between light and dark, or open and closed. The *đuru* half of the house is open to all members of the household and to outsiders who come as guests and are served there. The *wui* half, however, is hidden from the view of those who sit on the *đuru* side. Similarly, as the Savunese say, the *tàru wui* must not be seen by the *tàru đuru*. The rituals at the *tàru đuru* may be witnessed by anyone, but the rituals performed by the woman of the house (*ina àmu*) in the darkness of the loft are witnessed by no one but the woman herself. The loft, which is associated exclusively with women and women's activities, is the part of the house that is completely dark. Both food and thread for making cloth are stored in the loft; its darkness is associated with prosperity and protection. This association is evident in Savunese ideas about the seasons and in the performance of seasonal ceremonies. Ceremonies performed during the rainy season concern dry-field agriculture and are directed toward a female figure who bears the title *Bàni Ae* ("Great Woman"). The *Bàni Ae* is the hidden figure who is considered the giver of rain and seeds, the being who makes agriculture possible. Animals sacrificed during rainy-season ceremonies must always be black or gray, the color of clouds filled with rain. In contrast, the ceremonies dur-

ing the dry season concern lontar tapping and are directed toward a male figure, *Pulođo* ("Sun Ancestor"). Sacrificial animals during the principal dry-season ceremonies must always be white, the color associated with this season.

In addition to the *đuru* and *wui* division, the house is also divided into front and back, or right (*kegana*) and left (*keriu*). The front (or right) is categorized as "elder" (*a'a*); the back (or left) as "younger" (*ari*). The elder/younger opposition is expressed also by the way the two pieces of wood are joined in the taga batu construction. For this reason, there must be one more *badu* on the front roof than on the back. The number of *badu* on the right is odd; the number on the left is even. When the rafters are inserted into holes in the ridge pole, the front rafters must be inserted before the ones in the rear. Furthermore, the front rafters must be turned slightly toward the *đuru* side, and the back rafters slightly toward the *wui*. As one informant explained: "The front rafters are male, the back rafters female."

The image of the house is that of a perahu or a living being. Its ordering principles, however, are based on a set of associations (summarized below) that relate either to the division into *đuru* and *wui* or to the division into *kegana* and *keriu*.

<i>Đuru</i> ("Bow")	<i>Wui</i> ("Stern")
male	female
open, outside	closed, hidden, inside
light, white	dark, black, gray
consumption	accumulation, storage
base, origin	tip, end
<i>Kegana</i> ("Right")	<i>Keriu</i> ("Left")
front	back
older	younger
odd	even
male	female

11 The Symbolic Classification of the Atoni of Timor

H. G. Schulte Nordholt

VAN Wouden ANALYZED several aspects of the cultures of eastern Indonesia. But he avowed that "it should be kept constantly in mind that these social phenomena are firmly rooted in the totality of the culture (van Wouden, 1968, p. 1). His research focused primarily on exclusive cross-cousin marriage, about which he wrote:

We hope to be able to show that this marriage custom is the pivot on which turns the activity of the social groups, the clans. The scheme of social categories thus found serves as the model for an all-embracing classification. Cosmos and human society are organised in the same way, and through this there emerges the essential interconnexion and similarity of the human and the cosmic. According to our conceptions these are totally different things, but here they form a higher unity, the sacred forces of which are reflected in myth and ritual [p. 2].

When he wrote his thesis, van Wouden was probably one of the first to give clear expression to the notion of an all-embracing classification underlying culture. Now, forty years later, we can recognize how fruitful this idea was. Naturally, it was not just van Wouden who developed it, but an entire circle of students inspired by a gifted professor, J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong—a man who had no wish to start a school and therefore can

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hardly be called the founder of the Leiden school. He forced no system on his students; rather, he let them experiment freely with a model of an all-embracing system of classification (see Locher's preface in van Wouden, 1968). De Josselin de Jong suspected a unity in culture, one that would be manifest in the mutual connections between totally different aspects of that culture. His model served as a means of approaching this unity, something to be used in the attempt to analyze social reality more adequately (J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong, 1935, p. 13). The model, however, was not intended to be a hypothesis that had to be proved in one way or the other. A misconception about this model has caused some scholars to misunderstand the breadth of the work of van Wouden and his supporters (see C. Geertz, 1961; H. Geertz, 1965).

Educated in the Faculty of Indonesian Studies at the University of Utrecht in a program that was distinguished by being politically and scientifically anti-Leiden, I was appointed in 1939 the government's administrator of the northern part of central Timor, a territory that comprised the Atoni princedoms of Miomafo, Insana, and Beboki. On my arrival, I was immediately instructed to investigate the murder of a witch, allegedly by the Radja of Insana. In the end, the Radja was proved guilty, and the question of his successor became a problem that concerned the entire society. A similar situation arose when the Radja of Beboki resigned his office in behalf of his son just before the Japanese invaded. After their landing but before their arrival in the interior, a revolt broke out; it had been instigated by the sacral, immobile lord, who, simply because he was immobile, could never have been appointed administrator by the Dutch government. For this reason, an executive had been chosen. There was also a succession problem in the princedom of Miomafo. The Radja, Us Kono, had died in 1920, and although his sons had come of age, the acting Radja, Us Senak, remained in office, apparently because people objected to the sons of Us Kono. All three of these cases posed fundamental questions. After the war, in 1946, it had to be decided who were the rightful successors in these states.

My own training had not equipped me to undertake this type of investigation. In Utrecht, I had been taught the traditional ethnography of Indonesia. In west Sumbawa, I had taken an interest in Islam, and during the year I served as a civil servant in east Flores, I had become acquainted with the literature about

that island, which had derived almost entirely from Schmidt's Vienna School. Father Schmidt's book *Handbuch der Methode der kulturhistorischen Ethnologie*, published in 1937, had found its way by 1938 to this remote corner of the world. Fortunately, I was too historically minded to accept the pseudohistory of this school; nor could I accept the speculations on sun and moon myths by which Father P. Arndt (1938) attempted to explain all political and social tensions on the island of Adonara.

On Timor in 1940, I read, for the first time, a book by a Leiden ethnologist: van Wouden's thesis. I read it with both admiration and criticism (see Locher's preface in van Wouden, 1968; Schulte Nordholt, 1971). I admired it because it was undeniably an extremely intelligently written book. It drew connections between myths, rituals, and social systems as parts of the essential unity of a culture. Van Wouden asserted that "by bearing constantly in mind . . . the underlying interconnexion of the various cultural elements, we shall be able to concentrate especially on social phenomena without falling into a sterile one-sidedness" (1968, p. 2). Given the great influence exercised by Durkheim and Mauss, neither of whom escaped this one-sidedness, this balance demonstrates the independence of mind of those Leiden ethnologists who grouped around J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong and Rassers (see Needham, 1963; P. E. de Josselin de Jong, 1972). Despite the fact that van Wouden did not always heed his own injunction about one-sidedness, his central concern nevertheless was social categories insofar as they serve "as the model for an all-embracing classification" (van Wouden, 1968, p. 2; see Needham, 1972).

I read van Wouden's book with a feeling of displeasure as well. He pointed out the serious inadequacy of the ethnographic material available to him, yet he himself, for his discussion on Timor, relied on no more than ten articles, less than a tenth of what was available at the time. Much of the material on Timor was of poor quality but should certainly not have been neglected. Nor did van Wouden use any of the abundant material in the Dutch archives. The use of archives was apparently not yet conceived of by ethnologists of the time. Their method was nonhistorical. Moreover, van Wouden made insufficient use of his model to provide structural explanations. His intention was to discover relations, classify structures, and consider the consequences that these structures had for other aspects of the culture. But instead, he relied too much on his model as a hypothesis for a specific situation whose existence he wished to prove.

Rather than indicating the ordering principles of an entire society, he tried to account for the contingent realization of the society in a certain area and at a specific time. For this purpose, the material he used was utterly insufficient and thus prevented his work from being fully appreciated.

I faced a similar problem until I started to work from my own research materials. In 1946, I began to research the territorial rights to a plain on which the Dutch government wanted to establish a pilot project for the development of the island. In any development project, it is obvious what should be developed. It is also certain that other changes will take place. On the strength of functionalist theories, there is general acceptance that further consequences—possibly even ones seen as causally linked—will result from development. But whether these transformations portend an overall improvement for the population is certainly, in most cases at least, completely uncertain. It is often not recognized in advance that such a transformation will also affect a symbolic classification. Because of the imbalance that this kind of transformation creates, “deformation through discontinuity” is a better description than “development.”

In central Timor, the plan was to plow mechanically a huge grassy plain. The Atoni, who even now rely on digging sticks, would thus gain a considerable amount of land for agriculture. Out of sheer curiosity—still a good *mater scientiae*—and stirred by a slight worry about the results of an operation of this sort, I investigated territorial rights and traced the entire annual cycle of Atoni agriculture. The territorial rights proved to be closely related to the agricultural cycle, which itself was mainly an expression of the kinship system. The end of the agricultural cycle and all the rituals connected with the cycle culminated in the bringing of harvest gifts to the sacral lord.

This information provided me the key to understanding the political system of the Atoni. Their system of politics was indeed a more or less complete replica of their social and economic relations. In particular, it mirrored the agricultural system vis-à-vis cattle breeding. And each of these aspects could be considered individually as the transformation of the myths and rituals on which Atoni culture is based. Conversely, these myths and rituals remained rooted in political, social, and economic life.

Every aspect of a culture is a configuration that is designed with the aid of a number of elementary relations. Thus, in a kinship system, a configuration is mapped in terms of a small number of elementary relations. In other systems, configurations

often have an entirely different character because certain relations are accentuated and others are almost ignored or even denied (as is, for example, physical paternity among the Trobrianders). With the Atoni, the father/son relationship is most strongly accentuated within the kin group. When these relations are extended genealogically, patrilineages and clans are created. Besides this relationship, the elder/younger (brother) relationship is significant. By its implication of relative superiority, this relationship introduces a hierarchical tendency, which results in rivalry, the possibility of conflict, and the eventuality of clan segmentation.

Another relationship of major importance is the one between brother and sister. This relationship is of direct importance for alliances that are contracted by marriages between patrilineages, or houses (*ume*). There is also the special relationship between the mother's brother and the sister's son and between the mother's brother's daughter and the father's sister's son. According to a Timorese proverb, "mother's brother's daughter and father's sister's son fit together like the two halves of a coconut (*panu*).” Unlike the Dutch expression "cousin and cousin fall easily in love," which implies no system of marriage, the Timorese proverb is symbolic of an entire kinship system. As a rule, a person may not marry a member of his own clan (*kanaf*), because the marriage would be incestuous. Nor may a man marry his mother's sister's daughter, for this is considered too close a relationship—a relationship between two people of one blood. He may not marry his father's sister's daughter either, because his father's sister belongs to a wife-taking clan and marriage relations are supposed to be unidirectional. Therefore, in small and closed communities in which everyone is classified according to relationship categories, there remains only the mother's brother's daughter to whom to turn. This woman is called the *fe lalan* (the "woman of the path"); her father's sister's son is called the *mone lalan* (the "man, or husband, of the path"). (A *lalan* is a path that connects two houses, or *ume*.) This explains the Timorese expression that a mother's brother's daughter and a father's sister's son are each other's *panu*. Each is half of a coconut, whose union symbolizes an entire system. But even in this union, the superiority of the *ume* that gives a woman (who is the source of life) requires that the affinal relationship be asymmetric. This is even more remarkable than it seems at first since the same kinship terms are used for both maternal and paternal cross-cousins.

Is this prescribed marriage? Here I hesitate, for "prescribed" is a heavily loaded term. The peoples among whom prescribed marriages occur generally do not maintain written records; they are aware of the rules by which they live only through the use of expressions such as "fe lalan," "mone lalan," and "the union of panu." If the translation of culture is to occupy a central position in our field, we must be consciously careful about our choice of terminology. The tendency here is, however, apparent. A principle of classification underlies the circulating connubium, but it does not indicate the degree to which this rule is adhered to—in Timorese terms, the degree to which "the path" is followed.

There are other principles of classification that may violate this rule. With the Atoni, for example, the rule that bridewealth, which is considered "male," should be given over a number of years to the *ume* of the woman is not always observed. If it is not, a daughter may be returned in the following generation. Although this appears to be a contradiction of a unidirectional marriage relation, it is not, at least not among upper-class families. It is more an expression of the principle of reciprocity, the intention of which is the maintenance of stability in the balance of life. An *ume* always requires the same amount of *smanaf* ("vital force") in return for the *smanaf* that it gives; the means of exchange does not matter. The original wife-giving clan remains "male" in relation to the wife-taking clan, which continues to be "female" in their mutual relationship. In turn, this female clan is male in relation to a third clan, which is male in regard to a fourth, which may be male in relation to the first clan. This is a form of relative superiority, of being higher or lower. "Male" means, in this relation, being more than female. Clan A is more than B, B more than C, C more than D; but then, D is more than A.

In pre-1915 Timor, reciprocity was paramount within the traditional totality of four villages, each inhabited by one *ume*. Practically all marriages were contracted within a structure of four villages. The fields and pasture lands of the villages bordered on those of the other villages without the borders' being allowed to obtrude within the same tribe. Rather, the borders were symbols of the privacy of life that was embedded in the larger community of the clan. For example, in Nimasi, a still very isolated village in Bikomi in Miomafo where I did research in 1970, the four original *ume* (Senak, Sife, Tatlol, and Tahoni) now live together with a fifth, which split from the clan Lake. Of its 587 inhabitants, only 9 were born outside the village.

The transformation of these basic relations can be clearly seen in the political structure of the tribe. The tribe is represented by two pairs of lords (originally called *Nai* but now known as *Usif*), who rule in combination and, sometimes, in rivalry. One pair is Atok and Bana; the other, Lake and Senak. Among them the relationship of male and female occurs again, but in an entirely different sense. Among the Timorese, the meaning of the categories female and male (*feto* and *mone*) varies and depends on the context of the relationship. Each lord is considered female in one relationship and male in another. In marriage relationships, which in this case do not constitute a form of circulating connubium between the houses of the four lords, only the second of each pair is a wife-giver. Thus, in the relationship between Atok and Bana, Atok is female and the inferior of the two; Bana is male and superior. The same is true in the relationship between Lake and Senak. This may indicate that both tribal halves were at one time endogamous units. The evidence on this, however, is not conclusive. All that can be said is that most current marriages have been contracted between a limited number of houses (*ume*).

Together, however, Atok and Bana form the "outside" of the tribe and are therefore male. ("Mone" means "outside" and "exterior" as well as "male.") As outsiders, they were responsible for defense and for conducting head-hunting raids. In contrast, Lake and Senak are "insiders" and consequently female and, in this political and ritual relationship, indisputably superior. But within the Lake/Senak relationship, there is a further opposition between the active and the immobile halves. Lake executes the orders of the sacral and immobile Senak. Hence, Lake is male in this relationship, and Senak is female. Thus, Bana (male on the basis of marriage relationships and superiority in the external part of the tribe) and Lake (male because of executive function) have developed a mutual rivalry. During the 1930s and 1940s, the house of Bana was clearly superior and wanted to have its lord appointed Radja of the whole of Miomafo, the principedom of which Bikomi constituted one of the most important territories; but by the 1960s, Lake had taken the lead.

None of this alters the fact that Lord Senak is generally considered the most important person in the tribe and the most dangerous warlord. The power of every headhunter (*meo*), including Senak, is based on his control over hidden forces. Senak can make an enemy stiffen with fear in the same way Senak's totemic female ancestor, the crocodile (*besi*), can. Yet something about this ability is incongruous with the absolutely immobile

character of a sacral lord whose general title is *Atupas* ("He Who Sleeps"). Senak is sometimes called *Atupas* but he either has assumed this title by analogy or has usurped a title to which he has no right.

This became obvious during my research in Nimasi, Senak's village in Bikomi, in 1970. With me was an excellent informant, Uli, the same man who in 1946 of his own accord had made a drawing of Insana with its center and four parts while I was doing research there to determine succession in that principedom. With Uli and others, I visited Senak's lopo ("communal house"). The people there had detailed recollections of the period 1939—1947 and remembered, in particular, the great qualities of the old Sobe Senak. He had been Regent over all of Miomafo for many years and had been praised for his ability to overcome internal differences and to keep Miomafo together. A lord is the symbol of a principedom's unity. Not his efficiency, but his presence and the way he is able to make his presence acceptable are important. In the course of our conversation in the lopo, Uli (who had paved the way for our research) asked a pointed question: "You here in Bikomi have four lords, and here in the lopo you have four posts, but where is your maternal post, your *ni ainaf*?"¹

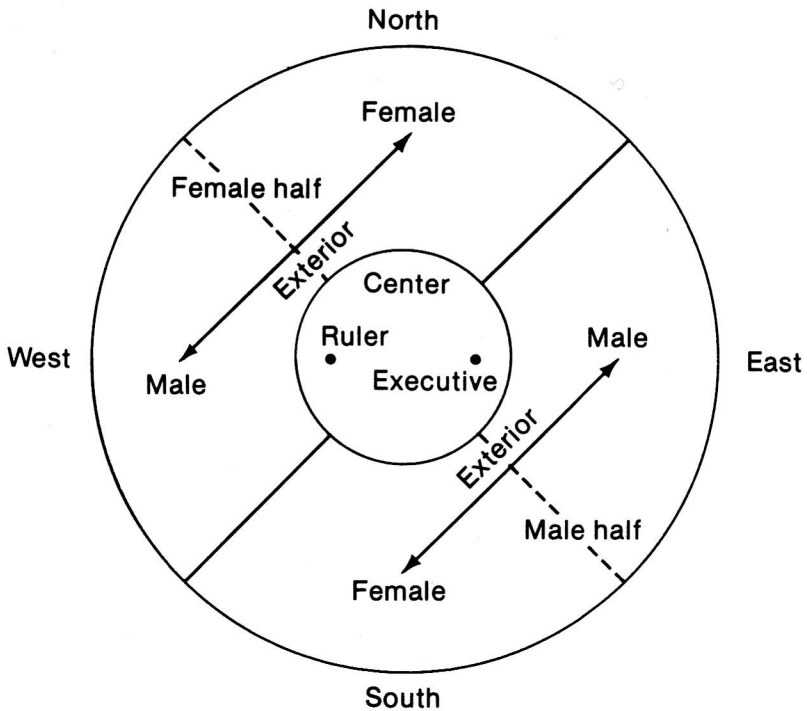
Everyone immediately understood what Uli meant. Bikomi had four lords but no fifth lord as its central, sacral lord. This had already been explained to me, but the question nevertheless struck us all dumb. In response to Uli's question there were murmurs at first, and then everyone fell silent. I quickly changed the subject of our conversation, but within ten minutes we had to leave. Never had I experienced the reality of lopo symbolism so palpably. The power of this symbolic classification and the awareness of its symbols were strikingly confirmed.

Lais meto, a contraction of *lais Atoni pah meto*, refers to the people of the "dry land." *Pah meto* ("dry land") is symbolic of a culture that has had no contact with the sea from time immemorial (*un unu*). The sea is not mentioned in Atoni myths, nor is the *perahu* or anything else having to do with sea fishing. But if one stands on the ridge of Mount Tamkesi, the "navel" of the land of Beboki, it is possible to look to the northwest and see the Savu Sea, which is called the *tasi fetu* ("female sea") about 25 kilometers away; it is also possible to look to the southeast and see at a distance of 40 kilometers the Timor Sea, which is called the *tasi mone* ("male sea"). The north and the west have female associa-

tions; the south and the east, male associations. Hence, the sea to the north is *feto*; the one to the south, *mone*. The Tetun of central Timor as well as the Atoni make these associations. Grijzen (1904, pp. 3-4) explained the associations in this way: the Savu Sea is the *tasi feto* because it has few waves and is calm compared with the Timor Sea, the *tasi mone*, which always has high waves and strong breakers. Since Grijzen knew the Tetun well, it would not be surprising if they had told him this. Structurally, such a distinction is in accordance with the basic relations of both the Atoni and the Tetun. The same principle should apply in Amarasi, the principedom at the extreme southwestern tip of Timor, which is similar to a peninsula. "*Tasi feto*" and "*tasi mone*" are used here too. "*Feto*" is applied to the sea that forms the inner circle; "*mone*" to the sea that forms the outer circle. (This is not surprising since "*feto*" is associated with the inside and "*mone*" means both "*male*" and "*outside*.") The principle, however, cannot in this case be related to the calmness of the sea, because the opposite situation prevails: in Amarasi, the *tasi feto*, rather than the *tasi mone*, throws up violent breakers. The main contrasts are thus between north and south and between west and east.

These directional relations, posed in terms of the *feto/mone* opposition, continue to order, concretely and geographically, the four territories of the principedom of Insana. The eastern and southern territories together form the superior, male portion of the principedom; the western and northern territories, the female portion. But the female half is further divided. Internally, its eastern and western parts are, again, male and superior in relation to its southern and northern parts, which are female and inferior (see figure 11.1). Together the four territories form the outside (*mone*) of the realm in relation to the superior, inner region of the realm. Thus, these inner and outer regions are also related to each other in terms of *feto* and *mone*.

In *Beboki*, these oppositions become tangible in a slightly different way. To the east of *Tamkesi*, the navel of the land, lies a sharply rising rock formation, *Tapen Pah*. This is the "*Guardian of the Land*" and is male. West of *Tamkesi* is a grassy mountain, on which there is a place called *Oe Puah* ("*Areca Palm Well*"). This lush, grass-covered mountain, with its large, copious well surrounded by areca palms, is female. What is symbol here and what is reality? For that matter, to what extent is this a sensible question in this culture? Hard, sharp, and pointed objects are symbols of manliness. Like the horned buffalo and the metal



East : South :: Male : Female

West : North :: Male : Female

Center : Exterior :: Female : Male

Ruler : Executive :: Female : Male

Figure 11.1. The structure of an Atoni principedom. The sacral, immobile ruler (*Atupas*: "He Who Sleeps") resides on the west side of the center and the executive ruler (*Us Bala*: "Lord Who Prepares") on the east side of the center.

gifts that wife-taking houses give, they are classified as male objects. Similarly a woman offers betel and areca nut to the warriors. In this offering of *puah manus*, the areca nuts (*puah*) are female and the tapering betel leaves (*manus*) are male.² In the cases of Tapen Pah and Oe Puah, does nature itself decide the character and the sex of these mountains? There is no other comparable center from which the country can be viewed—no

other mountains that lie so near the center, no Guardian of the Land higher than Tapen Pah to dominate the landscape.³

Symbols are not, however, created by nature. Man chooses his symbols from nature, from the world he shapes around himself. This is the culture-creating act of mankind. Such creation is indicated by the word "culture," which comes from the Latin *co-lerere* ("to plow" or "to cultivate"). The world in which man lives is the field that he cultivates. He uses what is at hand, and time and again he wonders about the world and what he has made of it. Thus, when the people of central Java could find no mountain, they erected a stupa as great as a mountain, the amazing complex of Borobudur. How much the Atoni must have wondered when they founded their holy center at Tamkesi. How astonishing or how "natural," how self-evident it must have seemed that nature conformed to the categories of their classification. At the geographical center of their land, they found two hilltops linked by a ridge, a twin-mountain complex symbolic of the cosmic dualism that is manifest in all relationships. The mountain to the east, the male side, is male in shape; the one to the west, the female side, has a female shape. In the east is Tapen Pah, the male Guardian of the Realm; in the west is a well, Oe Puah. Together they form *pah-nifu* ("land and water"; Indonesian: *tanah-air*), or, as an Atoni is wont to declare his place of origin, "my source of renown/my rock of renown" (see Schulte Nordholt, 1971, pp. 68–72).⁴ Pah-nifu is both.

Accordingly, the sacral lord has built his house at the west, for he is female and immobile. He never leaves this navel of the land; he remains inside (see figure 11.1). His title is Atupas ("He Who Sleeps and Eats"); his presence guarantees order (*lasi meto*). In front of his house, beside the well that symbolizes the earth, the Atoni have built the Neno Beboki ("Heaven of Be-boki"), a ceremonial house in which sacred objects and tokens of the solidarity of the territories of the realm are kept. In front of this house there stood an altar where, in 1946, large, level sacrificial stones lay in perfect order. The well, provided by nature as a symbol of the female earth, was complemented by man with a temple to represent the male heaven. To the east, at the foot of Tapen Pah, lived the man who wielded executive power over the realm. As the representative of the active male side of the center, he had to go outside (mone). His task was to defend the land and to organize head-hunting raids.

Although Tapen Pah is indeed male, the Atoni call all high rocky mountains *fatu le'u* ("holy rocks"), and holiness is a fe-

male category to which the Atupas is assigned. In times of extreme distress (such as famine or disaster), a sacrifice of a white pig (or sometimes a white goat) was offered at Tapen Pah to atone for errors committed during rituals. Where the cliffs are steep, the animal would have to be hoisted up carefully with a rope, because it had to reach the top alive to be useful as an offering. At the top of the mountain there is said to be a small lake (*nifu*) that never dries up and is the habitat of a white buffalo. The symbolism here involves a series of inversions. Tapen Pah, the male mountain, is *le'u* ("holy") and thus belongs to the female category. Its femaleness is symbolized by the lake at its top, which, like the well Oe Puah, belongs to the dark earth. And yet this lake is the dwelling of a white buffalo, which belongs to the sky, to the day, and to the light of the sun, all of which are referred to as *nenō*. The color of the sacrificial animal also is indicative of this inversion. On the altar in front of the Neno Be-boki, the heavenly male temple beside Oe Puah, a black animal had to be sacrificed.

Why there should be such an inversion is difficult to explain. In *Insana*, it is said that a sacrificial animal should be black if the arrival of dark rainclouds is the object of the sacrifice. Why, then, in the case of severe drought should the final sacrificial animal be white? And why in sacrifices to relieve other disasters (including too much rain) is this inverted order maintained? For example, once when severe drought threatened to cause total crop failure, the people who ascended Tapen Pah to offer sacrifices brought with them a *le'u ulan manas*, which is a string of beads whose name literally means "holy rain-sun object" (*ulan*: "rain"; *manas*: "sun"). These beads, as their name indicates, bring rain; yet, if the harvest is threatened by too much rain, they bring the heat of the sun. This holy object thus maintains a balance between rain and drought. "Manas," in addition to meaning "sun," encompasses a category that includes "heat," "danger," and "illness" (in opposition to *mainikin*, which means "coolness" or "salvation"). To correct an overdose of rain, one asks for the heat of the sun, just as one asks for the coolness of the rain when the earth is scorched by the heat of the sun. Is inversion anything but the recovery of cosmic balance, which man has subverted by a breach of the *lasi ma toni* ("the matter and the ritual word")? It is with the phrase "*lasi ma toni*" that an Atoni ends many ritual prayers. The world order to which he considers himself bound is designated as the *lais meto*. ("Lais" is a metathesis of "*lasi*"). But he is also aware that he is a tres-

passer. The land has to be worked before rice and maize (originally millet)—in ritual language, “tail-grass” and “rain-tree,” respectively—can be planted. Their real names are not to be mentioned because they are two of the eight crops that sprang from the eight parts of the body of Sonba’i’s sister. Sonba’i, the mythical archlord who descended from the sunrise (*neon sa’et* — “*neon*” is a metathesis of “*nenon*”), killed his sister so that the earth would yield man its cultivated crops and man would no longer have to eat raw food (*mate*). The sacral lord is a pivotal figure. He is called the “Son of the Lord of Heaven” (*Uis Neno Ana*) and, as such, is male. He is given cultivated crops of the female earth; so, in this respect, he is female. Rice and maize, for example, can be planted only by women, and rice should be harvested by women without the use of a male object, such as a rice knife.

In contrast to agriculture, which is primarily the concern of women, water buffalo and cattle are the concern of men. Buffalo are part of the male gifts that constitute bridewealth. However, buffalo are a gift from the crocodile, the “Lord of Water,” and water is a female element.

In sacrifice, an animal must be killed, but a pig or a buffalo may not be slaughtered in just any fashion. The animal must be addressed in an apologetic manner: “You have been treated well. We have given you a lot to eat; you have even become fat.”⁵ This way of speaking is similar to the way an Atoni used to address the enemy’s head that he had taken: “Brother-in-law, how is it possible? It was by your will that you came to fetch me, that I should come, and that we should meet. Well, sleep by yourself now. With whom shall I have fellowship? I am very cold.” Or, in a similarly apologetic manner, he might say: “I shoot foolishly. I behead foolishly. When you travel by day, we shall meet and find each other; when you travel by night, we shall meet and find each other.”

Thus the *lais meto* puts limits on man. If he trespasses these limits, his life is in danger and his culture is threatened. But the land has to be tilled and sacrificial animals must be slaughtered. Every Atoni who aspired to become a man in the full sense of the term “*meo*,” or “warrior,” had to take part in a head-hunting raid as part of his initiation. But when this occurred, there was an inversion of life. *Le’u musu* (“hostility *le’u*”) replaced *le’u nono* (“fertility *le’u*”) (see Schulte Nordholt, 1971). After a head-hunting raid, warriors had to be isolated in a hut outside the village. All contact with women was forbidden. A woman was not

even allowed to bring food, unless she assumed the role of a slave. The warriors were not allowed to talk to her. She would hang food on a tree, and the meo would hang the empty pot in a tree, where a boy would come to fetch it. While in the hut, a meo was forbidden to eat cooked food. He could eat only raw food, roasted corn, and raw vegetables. The inversion of ordinary life was complete: Having made a raid, an Atoni ("He Who Speaks" and thus is a man) had to be silent. He had to live outside the community and outside the power of fertility, and he had to eat raw food. Culture was replaced by nature as anticulture.

Both the power of fertility (le'u nono) and the power of hostility (le'u musu) are associated with the harvest. The power of fertility augments life, the vital force (smanaf; Indonesian: *seman-gat*). When the harvest gifts are taken to the lord, the first fruits ("the ear of the maize/the head of the rice") are pulled into the le'u house with a special hooked implement. This le'u house stands beside the house of the lord. In it are kept the sacred objects of the realm as well as the le'u musu. After a head-hunting raid, the "harvest of death" (that is, the skull) was brought into the le'u house by the lord of the le'u, who hooked the skull with the same hook used for the harvest of rice and maize. Through this incorporation, the "spirit" (*nitu*) was visibly consecrated within the community. Here again the same question arises: What is reality and what is symbol? The rice sheaves and maize bundles are harvested in just as concrete a way as the nitu that are brought into the circle (*nono*) of the community of the victors. Head-hunting was seen as just as necessary as the harvest. After the heat (*manas*) of battle, there was a ritual during which the fire was extinguished and the land made cool (*mainikin*) again. It was said that "the land was turned into a woman." The le'u musu (associated with the masculine principle) was put away in the le'u house, and the le'u nono (associated with the feminine principle), which had been inactive during the period of warfare, was brought back into action. The normal order was restored. But war also belongs to a certain order—the limits of which man has to transgress to evoke death, danger, and heat (*manas*) so that afterward there may be coolness (*mainikin*), blessings, and prosperity. The situation is similar to the burning of a forest area to prepare fields, for afterward there is an extensive ritual to cool the earth. War and agriculture, the production of heat, are the work of men. A meo is preeminently a man. But here too is an inversion that is related to the *feto/mone* opposition. The meo who hunts a head is called the *meo fetu*, and his companion who takes the head from him is called the *meo mone*.

The le'u musu of the meo mone originally came from Nai Oe Nono (the "Lord of the Source of the River")—in this context "nono" refers to the river bed—who, because he brings fertility, is a feminine symbol (see Middelkoop in Schulte Nordholt, 1971, p. 342). The name of the le'u musu of the meo fetu came from Nai Boes Nome (the "Lord of the Morning Star Plant"). The morning star, seen at daybreak, is preeminently a masculine symbol. The meo fetu is said to do his head-hunting by day, in accordance with the name of his le'u musu. Thus, the most feared warrior—the one who attacks his enemy only after daybreak—is described as female.

Is the symbolism of this inversion found in the total configuration of Timorese culture? To answer this question, the first step is to summarize the situations in which the female/male (feto/mone) relationship is transformed.

In the marriage relationship of man and wife (*mone/fe*), the male category comes first and is clearly superior. The first transformation in this relationship occurs in the context of the asymmetric marriage relationship between houses (*ume*) of different clans. The expression used to describe this relationship, in which the wife-giving house is superior, is *fetu mone*. The two partners are always mentioned in the same order, *fetu* and then *mone*.

"Feto/mone" is also used to express political relationships, but from a different viewpoint. Among the four lords of Bikomi, "feto/mone" has three different aspects. It refers to an affinal relationship in which Atok and Lake are *fetu* and Bana and Senak are *mone*; to a political and ritual division of the tribe into interior and exterior parts in which Lake and Senak are interior and therefore *fetu* while Atok and Bana are *mone*; and to a political and ritual division within the interior in which Lake is *mone* yet subordinate to Senak, who is *fetu* and superior.

A similar situation exists in Insana, where the eastern and southern territories form the superior portion of the principedom. Here north and west are to south and east as *fetu* is to *mone*; at the same time, they all form the outside, male part of the realm in opposition to a superior, female center.

Having looked closely at Beboki's center, we saw how deceptively "natural" nature can be seen to coincide with a symbolic order. Essential to this order are the complementary unity and duality that appear in the female and male principles. The sacral female lord lives at the foot of the western mountain of Oe Puah, a well near some areca palms. This highest of authorities wears a female garment and is even considered female by na-

ture. His male assistant (in Insana known by a title that means "Lord Who Prepares") lives to the east. At the center, however, there is a further duality. Near the house of the sacral lord (the Son of the Lord of Heaven) is the Neno Beboki, the temple that represents the male heaven or sky just as the well represents the female earth. To the east, a mountain—the steeply rising Tapen Pah (the Guardian of the Realm)—dominates the scene. But precisely because this mighty rock is firmly rooted in the earth, Tapen Pah is a *fatu le'u* (a holy mountain) and is, therefore, tacitly associated with this female element. Here we encounter an inversion in which an extremely marked male symbol (a hard pointed rock) is drawn within the female sphere.

The same kind of inversion can be seen even more clearly in the symbolism of war. During periods of warfare, the order of death prevailed and warriors were placed outside their own culture. This involved both inversion and complementarity. Just as the blessings of the heaven are associated with the heat of the fire that burns the fields, so, too, the harvest is linked with the heat of war. Like the harvesting of rice, by women, the "harvesting" of warfare (the hunting of heads) is done by a warrior called the *meo fetu*, who is male.

The female principle takes precedence. Thus, the categories for female and male are expressed as *fetu/mone*, ancestors are invoked as *be'i/na'i* ("foremothers/forefathers"), and distinguished persons are addressed as *inalama* ("mother/father"). Even officials of the Dutch East India Company and of the Dutch government were addressed as *ina/ama*. At the end of his long book on the Marind-Anin, van Baal concludes that "the Marind have successfully realized the idea embodied in the first part of the *chorus mysticus* of Goethe's *Faust* viz. that all things transient are but similes." The last line of this chorus, however, is "Das Ewig-Weibliche zieht uns hinan," and therefore he goes on to say that unfortunately "the Marind have failed in their appreciation of the female sex" (1966, p. 959). Obviously, the Atoni are more aware of the significance of the female principle.

Some tentative conclusions can be drawn from this discussion. Van Wouden's premise of an all-embracing system of cultural classification is borne out among the Atoni. Included in this classification are configurations that are mutual transformations of different aspects of their culture. The transformations become evident from an analysis of the basic relations from which these configurations are constructed. Similar or nearly equivalent basic relations are found throughout the sys-

tem—relations that can be interpreted in so many ways that constructing a simple outline of oppositional relations seems impossible (see Needham, 1973b, pp. xxv–xxx). As I have attempted to demonstrate for male and female, these relations are often so multifaceted and so complex that the use of analogy to sort the combinations of complementary and oppositional pairs is a risky undertaking. In the case of the feto/mone classification, for example, left is analogous to north and female; right, to south and male. But in the opposition between inside and outside, female and male do not correspond respectively to left and right. There is, however, another analogy between the male side of the house, which is on the right, and the female side, which is on the left, but it is not associated with the male wife-giving/female wife-taking relationship. Comparisons of one people with other peoples who are not closely related in language and culture become extremely hazardous. Comparisons between two entire configurations of culture or between two complete relationship systems or between the rituals of different religious systems are impossible. Only an analysis of a system in terms of its elementary structures can be fruitful (see Schulte Nordholt, 1975, pp. 19–38). As Evans-Pritchard (1965) has already remarked, the comparative method in the eighty-four years between the times McLennan's (1865) and Murdock's (1949) books were published has made little progress. It should be evident from the preceding discussion why such progress could not occur.

Time and again people rely on a few basic relations, but every time they do this, they create new configurations, if only by constructing a relationship (male and female, for instance) in several ways and emphasizing some associations more than others—for example, the relationship between right and left, which in many cultures is very important (see Needham, 1973b, pp. xxviii–xxx). Again, a relation such as the one between sacred and profane (or secular) is completely absent among the Atoni. Potentially, however, if the concept of *le'u* embodies the idea of holiness and of being laden with sacral force, then its opposite also can be conceived. One implication of van Wouden's model is that if the basis of a unilineal system exists, then an opposite line can be conceived of, as can a system of double descent. The model points to various possibilities, but there is no need to realize them all. In the same way, there exists no word for the profane in the language of the Atoni and in no way has this notion been realized—just as it has not been realized by the people of Kédang (see Barnes, 1974a, p. 141).

12 Incursions upon Wehali: A Modern History of an Ancient Empire

Gérard Francillon

WEHALI TODAY IS A SMALL PRINCEDOM in the southern portion of the Belu subdivision of central Timor. Its 11,000 inhabitants, with a population density of 85 persons per square kilometer, account for most of the population of central Malaka. The most isolated of all the Tetun-speaking areas, Wehali nevertheless is located in the most fertile district of the island.

The principedom is headed by Nai ("Lord") Taèk Baria, the Radja of Wehali. He is sometimes addressed as *Fetor* (from the Portuguese *feitor*) or *Kornè* (from the Portuguese *coronel*). His power extends over some 40 villages and hamlets grouped under 24 *Temukun*, or village chiefs. A village is normally an agglomeration of three or four *fukun*, or matriclans, each comprising from six to twelve households of five to ten people. A *fukun* is headed by a man who is simply called *Fukun*.¹ Generally, the number of *Fukun* is, in fact, reduced to one or two young, energetic men who are chosen to act as assistants or deputies to the village chief. When these men are too young to be anything more than mere representatives of *fukun* elders, they are called by the title *Kabu* (from the Portuguese *cabo*: "corporal"). *Kabu* have limited powers, and their main duties are to go around the village to announce meetings and to give orders for communal labor on behalf of the *Temukun*. Elder *fukun* heads themselves have little power. At most, they are allowed to settle minor disputes.²

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The major settler of disputes is the Radja of Wehali, who holds a permanent court of justice in his hamlet of Eturafou. Cases of inheritance, adoption, broken engagements, or unpaid debts are usually settled there; if they cannot be settled, they are at least recorded and referred to the higher authority of the *Camat*, or district officer. Besides serving as tax collector, the Radja is a valuable auxiliary to the government, because he knows everything that is happening in his territory. His own small staff of *Opas* (from the Dutch *oppasser*: "attendant") act as local watchmen and keep him well informed of events and of sources of potential trouble that might require his attention.

The civil guards of the *Camat*, on the other hand, are tied to office duties and social obligations in the district capital, Betun. They have little knowledge of village life and are regarded by villagers as a repressive force. Yet it is only through the *Camat* that matters of importance are conveyed to the *Bupati* ("Regent") in Atambua, the capital of the Belu subdivision of Timor.

Superficially, this administrative structure does not seem to be particularly significant. However, the *Camat* of central Malaka, who has his residence in Betun, is, in fact, a nobleman of considerable distinction and holds the title *Liurai* of Malaka, while the *Bupati* of Belu holds the title Radja of Kewar. (Kewar is a separate principedom of Bunaq-speaking peoples.) Almost unnoticed, except perhaps during certain church ceremonies in Betun at Christmas or Easter, is the present holder of the most controversial of all titles, *Kesèr* (from the Dutch *keizer*: "emperor").

Stripped of its modern trappings, the picture that emerges is not very different from the one observed in north Belu in 1904 by Father Mathijsen when he accompanied the Dutch Controleur on a visit to Wehali and Wewiku. Mathijsen reported:

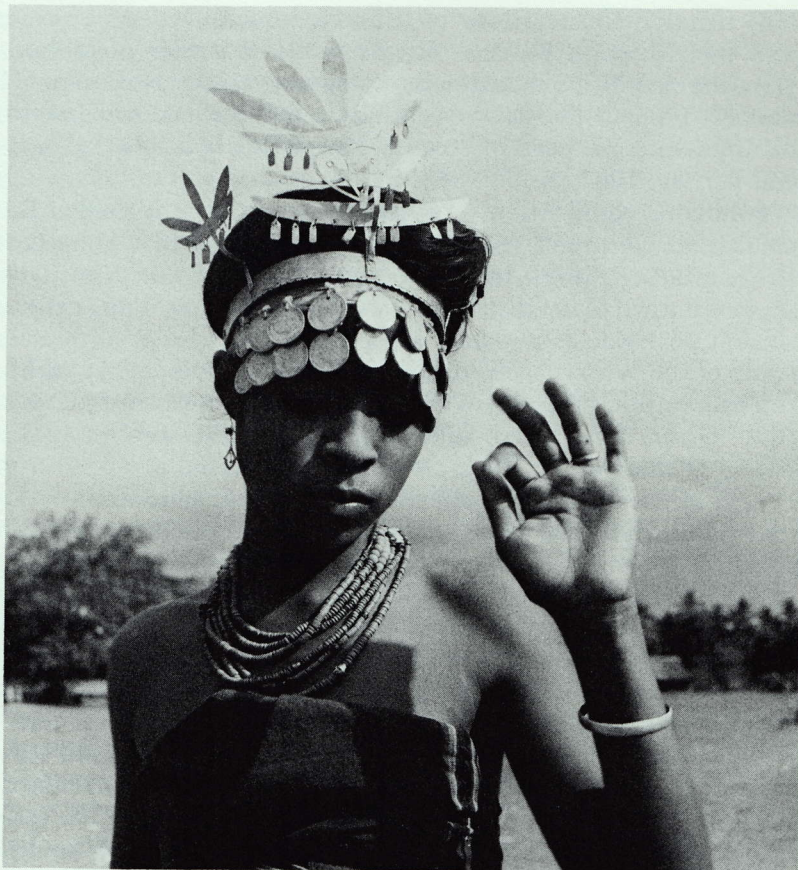
The overlord of Wehali . . . did not impress us favorably. He spoke very little and sat there looking rather indifferent. The Controleur asked him the number of villages under him, their names, and the names of the village headmen and also asked about the territories of his resort. The great lord hardly answered and let his spokesman, Lord Tahu, speak for him; Lord Tahu spoke at the top of his voice as if he thought that we were all deaf [1904, pp. 31-32].

A couple of days later at Uma Lor (across the River Benenai) the same party met the Radja of Wewiku, who "made a better impression . . . than the one in Wehali" (p. 35). The visiting party also thought that the welcome was more deferential. But this



Male and female in Wehali. At irregular intervals of about a decade, men of the Wehali plain leave their village to hunt "war medicine." The ritual hunt is similar to the head-hunting expeditions that were once carried out by the men of the patrilineal states to the north. Here the container with war medicine is handed to a woman dressed in a man's attire. The dance accompanying the presentation is one of the many stages of "cooling" the returning hunters. (Copyright © 1980 by Gérard Francillon)

impression lasted only a short time. When the party proceeded toward the sea in the territory of the Lord of Rabasa, the open hostility and threatening attitude of the villagers forced the two Dutchmen and their armed guard of fifteen native soldiers to retreat to Uma Lor. Anxious to restore his image in the eyes of the



A Tetun woman wearing a decorative headdress strung with Dutch coins from the time of Queen Wilhelmina (Courtesy, Societatis Verbi Divini, Rome)

population, the Controleur insisted on returning to Rabasa on the same day, but in the company of the Radja of Wewiku. The Radja took time for a meal while he considered this proposal and then remained seated on his veranda. He made no move to go to Rabasa. The Controleur had no choice but to withdraw, though he promised to return to Wewiku within three months.³

Historical sources provide no evidence that the Controleur ever attempted to fulfill his promise personally, but in 1906 a full-fledged military expedition forced its way into Wehali from the west (Bruynis, 1919, pp. 169–198). Settling disputes between the rulers of various princedoms (particularly Amanuban and Amanatun) along the way, this force moved toward We-

hali through the territory of Anas-Nenometan, in Amanatun, and then through Rabasa, on the western border of Malaka. Here the expedition met serious resistance; and on November 11 and 12, 1906, at the River Weliman, a fierce battle was fought, during which the Lord of Rabasa, Maroè Rai, was killed (*Kolon-iaal Verslag*, 1907, pp. 79–84).⁴

Following pacification, a military post was established at Besikama, at the time a mere hamlet on the outskirts of Uma Lor. In the following years, the post became a mission and eventually the main town of the district of west Malaka. At the same time, a second post was established at Betun, a tiny cluster of houses south of the “village of Wehali,” as Mathijsen called it. At Laran, the true capital village of Wehali, the Dutch approached Nai Bot (the “Great Lord”) and, following the general administrative policy in this part of the archipelago, attempted to put him in charge of the whole area and make him responsible to the colonial authorities. His spokesman, Lord Tahu Taèk, pointed out the difficulties in allowing the Great Lord, the Kesèr, to assume such powers. In theory, his power extended over the whole of central Timor and was limited only in the west by Sonba’i and in the east by Likusaen. The Great Lord, however, was not supposed to concern himself with worldly affairs. Lord Tahu Taèk was himself in charge of the affairs of Wehali, the central state, while other matters of actual government were left to Lord Tere Seran Ulu Baete of Builaran in Fatu Aruin. As the Liurai of Malaka, it was his task to oversee the political affairs of the four peripheral *Loro* princedoms—Wewiku and Haitimuk to the south and southwest, and Dirma and Lakekun to the north and northeast—that composed Malaka Foun, the “New Malaka.” Furthermore, in the capital village Laran (whose name means “central” or “middle”), the various fukun headmen managed their own affairs.⁵

Initially, the Dutch colonial administration had reason to feel satisfied with the politically passive attitude that they encountered. The troublesome Lord Maroè Rai had been eliminated; so the garrisons were withdrawn and the south plain was left to itself. Since the political situation in the 1960s showed no sign of instability, it could have been assumed that it had gradually evolved this way, but it had not. The Liurai, Lord Tere Seran, had been succeeded by his son Louis Sanaka Teeseran, who had become the Camat and had little more political power than his father had had. The Kesèr, Lord Baria Nahak, had been succeeded by Lord Seran Nahak (a classificatory sister’s son), who remained just as unobtrusive as his predecessor. And the spokes-

man for Wehali, Lord Tahu Taèk, was succeeded by his own sister's son, the truculent and vociferous Lord Taèk Baria. Even though the situation conformed in general appearance to the one encountered in 1904–1906, there had been a long period of adjustment and reshuffling of titles and functions. The intermediate steps in this process can be traced by relying on a few rare documents that survived the war and the recollections of some individuals who were most involved in them.⁶ These developments, over a sixty-year period, are a sad tale of a series of misunderstandings.

The Dutch policy of amalgamating small units into larger ones resulted in 1916 in the creation of two distinct, homologous administrative units in central Timor: Belu Tasi Feto in the north, which was placed under the Radja of Jenilu, and Malaka in the south, under Liurai Tere Seran. This change was effected quietly and uneventfully in Malaka. All attention was focused on northern districts, which were closer to the Dutch administrative capital of Atapupu (which was later transferred to Atambua).

The next step was taken in 1924. The two subdivisions of central Timor were abolished and merged into a single standard Regency. The Kesèr, Lord Baria Nahak, convinced at long last of the necessity of his assuming power, was to be the head of this Regency and was to be known as Radja of Belu. A *Korte Verklaring* ("Short Declaration") was to be signed to this effect, but before it was, a striking sequence of events occurred.⁷ The Kesèr died and, almost immediately after him, so did the Liurai. Both deaths were at once attributed to the reforms in progress. A successor to the Kesèr was soon chosen by the traditional method of spear divination. The spear was seen to move when the name Seran Nahak of Haitimuk was uttered, and, as a result, this young man, as yet unbaptized, was appointed the new Kesèr.

In his first years in office, the Kesèr was not required to move from the traditional "center" at Laran to the colonial center at Atambua, nor was he expected to rule or to act as an intermediary between the government and the people. In 1926, however, he was invited to come to Atambua to sign the *Korte Verklaring* and to be declared officially Radja of Belu. To show disapproval, one leading figure, Lord Atok Samara of Bauho, declined an invitation to attend the ceremony, over which the Dutch Resident of Timor had decided to preside himself. The Resident thereupon felt obliged to deprive Atok Samara of his

title Loro, which he held as the overseer of the northern territories. Further incidents marred the official tour of the northern princedoms of the Regency. One local lord held out his left hand while facing sideways as he was introduced to the Radja of Belu; another refused to order his retainers to carry the Radja's palanquin. Elsewhere, similar gestures emphasized the unanimous disapproval of the government's decision.

A commission was appointed to investigate the special nature of the position of Kesèr. After weeks of interviews and meetings with the parties concerned and their spokesmen, the commission reported its satisfaction that, on genealogical grounds, the Kesèr was the legitimate overlord. Nevertheless, Nai Seran Nahak had suffered irretrievable loss of face, and from then on he repeatedly submitted his resignation as Radja of Belu until it was finally accepted in 1930.

Meanwhile, Liurai Tere Seran's position had to be filled. His eldest son, Antoni Manek Teeseran, who was only about fifteen years old, was considered too young; so a Deputy Liurai was chosen by an assembly of Nai and Fukun. He was Lord Seran Asit Fatin, Radja of Manlea, who had close historical and genealogical ties to the House of Builaran. There was no objection in Malaka to this solution as a temporary expedient, but there was an outburst of discontent among the nobles of north Belu when Lord Seran Asit Fatin was promoted to the position of Radja of Belu as successor to the outgoing Kesèr. At one meeting in Atambua, Lord Atok Samara, the former Loro of Bauho, cursed the Deputy Liurai. He is reported to have said: "If I am wrong [in asserting that you have no right as Radja of Belu], I shall die; if I am right, you will!" As it happened, the Deputy Liurai died on his way back to Manlea. To everyone—even the Dutch, informants report—this death was regarded as sufficient evidence that Lord Atok Samara had been correct when he accused Lord Asit Fatin of being a usurper. Whether intentionally or not, the government reinforced this belief by officially reinstating Lord Atok Samara as Loro of Bauho.

At this time there certainly existed an opposition between the north and the south, but there was no enmity. However, the Dutch gradually introduced new elements that elicited unnecessary vehemence in the already confused situation. In 1932, a compromise was devised to avoid a complete deadlock between the nobles of the two regions. Three prominent lords were chosen to constitute a self-governing Provisional Council: the Loro of Bauho, Lord Atok Samara; the Loro of Lakekun, Benedictus

Leki; and the old Loro of Wewiku, Bere Nahak. These three lords had equal status within the council, and their respective territories were about equal in size and population. They proposed the deduction of a certain percentage from their own salaries and from those of the lesser lords to provide Antoni Teeseran (the former Liurai's eldest son) with a proper education abroad "to improve his brain and to increase his ability for government." Curiously, he was sent, in 1935, not to Flores or Java, but to Bima on Sumbawa, which offered neither more advanced nor better educational facilities than Timor.

Antoni Teeseran was supposed to obtain three years of secondary education; but for some reason he decided to gain a complete secondary education and stayed in Bima for another three years. Out of impatience, the provincial government called a meeting at Laran in 1938 to consider a proposal to disband the Provisional Council and restore the Kesèr as sole head of Malaka. The Kesèr thus was to assume powers that should have gone to the young heir to the title Liurai. The assembly of Nai, Fukun, and spokesmen simply adjourned without responding to or suggesting revisions to the proposal.

By 1941, the Dutch authorities had devised a new plan, under which the older nobles would have had no role. Basically, this plan called for a redivision of Belu into Tasi Feto in the north, Malaka in the south, and Lamaknen in the northeast. The creation of this tripartition was intended to achieve the recognition of the relative independence of the Bunaq-speaking states from their Tetun-speaking neighbors. The reform would have entailed a large measure of autonomy for the three subdivisions of the former Belu Regency, but implementation of the scheme was hampered by the arrival of the Japanese in 1942. These events brought about the deaths of the old Loro of Wewiku and the Loro of Bauho (who is said to have swallowed a mixture of rotten eggs and gunpowder).

Faced with a situation that they were not inclined to rectify immediately, the Japanese decided that the simplest solution was to adopt the division into three districts that the Dutch had been about to establish. For the south, however, they devised a new expedient. Two nobles—the new Loro of Wewiku, Lord Kalau Seran; and the lord of Fatu Aruin, Edmundus Teeseran (who was the son of a Chinese father and one of the old Liurai's sisters)—were appointed to serve alternating one-year terms as Radja of Tasi Mane, a position heavily laden with responsibilities (especially at that time). Edmundus assumed the name

Teeseran and became a pretender to the title; Antoni Teeseran died in 1941 or 1942 while still on Sumbawa. (The news of his death, however, did not reach Timor until after the Japanese had left.)

In 1945, the prewar self-governing Provisional Council was reestablished to administer the reunited Belu subdivisions. Its members were the Loro of Lakekun, Benedictus Leki; the new Loro of Bauho, Hendricus da Costa; and the new Radja of Kewar, A. A. Bere-Tallo (from the Bunaq state of Lamaknen), who had received an excellent education and was endowed with outstanding political talents.

The 1941 plan of tripartition was resurrected in 1949 because its federalist basis coincided with the principles of the new federal state of East Indonesia, a postwar attempt by the Dutch to counter the independence movement. The entire scheme soon collapsed, and the 1941 plan was once again abandoned.

In the first decade of its existence, the government of the Republic of Indonesia left the administration of the self-governing Belu division to the triumvirate of the 1945 Provisional Council as it was originally established in 1932. In addition to the three Radja (officially known simply as "traditional chiefs"), four elected representatives were added to the council. Only one of them represented Malaka, which included about half of the total Belu population; the other three represented the capital (Atambua) and the surrounding area.

After the death of Deputy Liurai Asit Fatin in 1932, the traditional chief of Malaka (Benedictus Leki, Loro of Lakekun), had gradually assumed a leading position, to such an extent, in fact, that he was commonly addressed as Nai Bot (Great Lord). But in the decade after the war, he began to grow old and adopted the younger brother of the late Antoni, Louis Teeseran, as his deputy. At the end of 1955, Benedictus Leki retired in favor of Louis Teeseran, whom people recognized as the Liurai of Malaka in spite of a claim to the title by Edmundus Teeseran, Louis Teeseran's father's sister's son.

In 1958, a further step was taken by the central government to eliminate the traditional leaders (the so-called feudal lords).⁸ The self-governing council was replaced by a single Bupati, who became the head of Belu as a whole. The three traditional regions were supposed to be divided into five *kecamatan*, or districts. It was not until 1962, however, that Malaka was actually divided according to the law into two such districts: one to the west of the Benenai River, under Camat Edmundus Teeseran,

and the other to the east, under a new Camat, who had just graduated from Cebu University in the Philippines. Liurai Louis Teeseran was not completely excluded. He remained the traditional chief and the adviser on customary law for Malaka.

East Malaka soon proved to be much too large for a junior officer with little experience, given the ambitious objectives of a modern-style administration. East Malaka was therefore divided again into central Malaka and east Malaka. The shortage of administrative officers was no less pressing in 1964 than in 1962. Therefore, while the junior officer retained the position of Camat for the eastern part of the area, which comprised the mountain princedoms, Liurai Louis Teeseran was appointed Camat of central Malaka, which was composed mainly of Wehali, Fatu Aruin, and Manlea.

On February 6, 1964, Louis Sanaka Teeseran, Liurai of Malaka and its dependencies, was installed as Camat of central Malaka by the Bupati of the Belu subdivision, A. A. Bere-Tallo, the Lord of Lamaknen. (Lamaknen was originally one of the traditional territories of Malaka.) In May 1964, under the auspices of the National Front, a move was initiated by a majority of Fukun and a few Nai, led by the Loro of Lakekun, to unite the three districts of Malaka under a separate Bupati who would be Liurai Teeseran. This move was particularly interesting because at last Wehali and Malaka as a whole had resolved to take the initiative rather than submit passively—albeit with some stubborn resistance—to Dutch, Japanese, and Bunaq decisions as they had done previously. It was a sign that the south Tetun districts had finally awakened to the realities of administration and politics. It was also the unmistakable sign of the end of Wehali and its unique ideology of political authority.

The recent history of Wehali is remarkable for the frequency of changes and reforms that the state has undergone. Wehali does not provide so simple a model as might be expected. For half a century, there was a bitter contest for positions and titles as the colonial administration struggled with the intricacies of native politics. Eventually it ended in an unsuccessful attempt to reconcile irreconcilable political concepts.

It might seem curious that the colonial government insisted on determining the legitimate ruler, restoring his supremacy, and requiring the lesser princes and lords to pay him allegiance. The search for native political structures was carried out on the assumption that only minor adaptations were required to make

these structures serviceable to the new needs of the time. This assumption was equally and uncritically endorsed by successive colonial and national administrations. The attempt to make administrative ideas coincide with local conceptions of political power was motivated partly by practical considerations (for example, that indirect rule is more economical in terms of personnel) and partly by the conviction that since there still existed a Great Lord who had been known as Kesèr, the present holder of this title could be made to play his part in the government of the area, especially if he were paid to do so. This attitude was not devoid of a humane conservatism that assumed that it was best to leave the native political structure alone as long as peace and order were maintained. "Kesèr" with its connotations of king of kings was no mean title and was obviously the focus of attention, if only by way of derision.

When the title Kesèr was first used is uncertain; eighteenth-century historical sources are rare. The Dutch East India Company treaty known as the Contract of Paravicini was signed in 1756 with "the great prince [*grootvorst*] of Belo and sovereign king [*souverain koning*] of Wywiko Bahale" (Stapel, 1955, pp. 87–107; see also Leupe, 1877–1878). Letters in Portuguese, some dating from 1778 and 1780, are still kept in some houses in Malaka. The ones that are readable refer to a *Rei Veale* and to a *Rei Babico*. The more abundant Dutch colonial records from the nineteenth century refer constantly to the Kesèr in connection with the Great Lord of Belu. The Kesèr is often cited as the senior descendant of the house from which all junior rulers of importance originated or took their power. An 1852 source states that "Wewiku-Wehali is also suzerain of the Regency of Tialaran [or better Feha(n)-laran, that is, the later Tasi Feto subdivision of Belu], which is situated on the north coast of the island and which is under the authority of the Netherlands. Wehali itself abstains, however, from all relations with the government in defiance of promises that it has made, even though it has always recognized Dutch authority and rights over Tialaran" (D. B., 1852, p. 214).

Most documents refer to the Kesèr as the focus of islandwide respect and deep veneration. However unimpressive the Great Lord might have appeared to Mathijsen, he makes it clear that the common people were afraid to approach the Kesèr. An indication of the depth of this feeling among the common people is suggested by an incident that Mathijsen reported but did not see as significant: "The following day, August 5, we were already on

horseback at half-past five, for we had a long journey ahead of us. At 9:00 A.M., we rested for three-quarters of an hour. The guide who had accompanied us so far turned back, so another one was picked out. But this man refused to accompany us and shouted that he did not know the way. The sergeant had the screaming man tied up. No sooner was this done than he calmed down and said he did know the way. As he walked ahead of us, a soldier, holding the rope firmly, followed him at close range" (1904, pp. 29–30). It is true that the way through the overgrown passes of Sulit was difficult, as Mathijsen goes on to describe, but certainly no Timorese would be frightened by this alone.

This Great Lord of Wehali, Nai Bot, the prince to whom the title *Kesèr* had been applied, died in 1924. His death was mourned for a longer period and by more princes than the death of any other ruler of his time. He was not, in fact, buried until 1934. All princes and Fukun came to pay their homage or sent delegates and presented hundreds of lengths of tie-dyed cloth to serve as shrouds for his remains.⁹ A varying number of mourners—but never fewer than a dozen—kept watch day and night over the dead *Kesèr*. Many stayed as long as several weeks. Under these special circumstances, they had the right, on a first come, first served basis, to the entire food supply of the Laran villagers, whether it was cooked or uncooked—or even unharvested. This included not only betel, areca, and tobacco but also cereals, coconuts, bananas, fowl, and pigs. Even today Wehali seems depleted, and Laran appears to be one of the poorest villages of all. The situation is much the same for the villages immediately surrounding Laran. As the mourning continued, the people of these villages too were called on to contribute.

At the same time, similar funeral rituals were being held at Builaran for the Liurai, who also was lying in state. But he was buried after only twenty-seven months of mourning. Although other factors should not be overlooked (such as the better economic capacity of Laran to entertain large numbers of guests), the difference in the lengths of the mourning period provides some measure of the difference in status of these two men. The authorities at the time must therefore have felt sufficiently justified in insisting that the Great Lord of Wehali was the Great King of Belu, if not the Emperor of Timor. But this is as far as the argument can be carried, given the kind of evidence that was available to external observers and to such outsiders as the colonial and postwar national administrators. They did not realize that behind the unfamiliar configuration—the living paradox of

a fragile and elusive emperor—lay a highly original form of political authority.

An understanding of the actual positions and functions of the Kesèr and the Liurai, in regard to both central Timor in general and Wehali in particular, was obviously what administrators lacked. Such an understanding can be attained only by disregarding Western patterns of political theory and by doing a minimum of field investigation on Tetun political conceptions.

Grijzen, a Dutch colonial officer, carried out in the early 1900s an extensive survey of the sociopolitical organization of the peoples in the Belu subdivision (see Grijzen, 1904). He, at least, relied more earnestly on direct inquiry than anyone before him had. Consequently, his results were substantial. Grijzen's work was van Wouden's main source of information on Belu in his thesis, *Types of Social Structure in Eastern Indonesia*. It is apparent, however, that Grijzen's information was derived mainly from north Belu. This explains the limited influence his investigations had on his own and his successors' administrations, and it also explains the limited range of van Wouden's interpretation of Wehali.

The momentum of van Wouden's formidable synthesis made him go beyond the "just-so" account he was provided. In regard to eastern Indonesia in general, he noted that "one of the most striking facts is that in almost every one of the larger regions into which this area may be divided there is a people who are sharply distinguished from their patrilineal neighbours by their matrilineal descent groups" (1968, p. 153). He felt compelled to ask "whether these matrilineal 'islands' have any significance in the system of higher forms of organisation" (p. 157).

Wehali is indeed one of these "matrilineal islands." It is so in many ways, even more, it seems, than classic typologies require. Descent and succession are reckoned in the female line. Residence at marriage is uxorilocal. As a corollary, which van Wouden would probably have recognized, no bridewealth is ever paid. Instead, child exchange is quite frequent. When, as is often the case, the rules of the system of child exchange are strictly applied, the system reinforces matriliney and uxorilocality. This creates the most concrete and tangible manifestation of what may be termed the dominant feminine principle. In Wehali this principle is constantly emphasized at the expense of the masculine principle, not only in the areas of kinship and marriage but in all aspects of life. All features that pertain to the feminine

principle *as it is conceived* in the Timor Archipelago—and as it was reviewed by van Wouden in its various forms—are concentrated in Wehali. Conversely, all the features of a masculine principle are excluded from Wehali. The insular character of Wehali is further emphasized by the fact that masculinity is not merely excluded from Wehali but is assigned to the peripheral princedoms, in which features of this opposing principle are systematically present.

It is unnecessary to list here all the features of femininity that van Wouden noted in social groups throughout this area and the opposing features of masculinity. All these feminine features pertain to Wehali (see Francillon, 1968). Matriliney and uxorilocality are associated with the earth, water from springs, settled agriculture, magic, and medicine. Following the logic of these associations, the house with its dark interior and the woman in her fixed residence imply centrality, immobility, passivity, and "stupidity" (see van Wouden, 1968); but they also imply silent authority, sacred fear, and the threat of death, all of which assert the superiority and dominance of Wehali over the patrilineal princedoms of the periphery.

It is unclear what van Wouden meant by "higher forms of organisation" (1968, p. 157), and it is uncertain that he would have accepted as one of these forms a universal scheme of political domination. In some states (Fehalaran, Amanatun, and Amanuban, for example), both feminine and masculine features are distributed among various sociopolitical groups. This fact led van Wouden to look for a similar pattern of organization among the southern Tetun; it also led him into the quagmire of the first dozen pages of his chapter "Myths and Social Structure in the Timorese Archipelago." Nevertheless, he sensed that Wehali held a different status through its matriliney; it was the "mother" kingdom, not just of the Liurai but of the entire world (see van Wouden, 1968, p. 106).

This symbolic sexual dualism entails, not a phratry dualism, but a universal sociopolitical dichotomy in which the central female matrilineal state of Wehali is dominant and the other peripheral male patrilineal states are subordinate. An understanding of this critical fact is helpful for a second reading of the political developments in Belu during this century.

Mathijsen, the Controleur, and their party met the Nai Bot (the Great Lord) at Laran. ("Laran" means "middle" or "center," and the title Nai Bot metaphorically designates the earth.)

before an inquiry could be completed. No minutes of this inquiry were taken, but the Bupati emphatically confirms the popular description of the treasure. Today Uma Maromak is just an empty little house preserved in reasonably good condition.

In 1937, Father Vroklage visited Uma Maromak, and in his notes he listed the following treasures: "gold-embroidered umbrella of dubious origin, staff with a gold knob, gold armlet and finger ring" plus "small cannons, the spear of Maromak, the drum of Wehali, the gong of Wehali" (see Vroklage, 1952–1953).¹² Half a dozen objects of various description are still kept in the house, but all the gold objects are gone. Yet from the evidence a meticulous ethnographer gathered before the war and before the theft, the treasure of Wehali appears to have been far less than what its reputation claimed. Just as this threepenny treasure was overvalued, the little old man who was Kesèr was also overestimated. The mistakes of the administrators are therefore perhaps understandable.

This is nevertheless an oversimplified view, for the Kesèr was mourned by Timorese from all parts of the island for ten years. If the man was nothing himself, if his house was merely a flimsy, undecorated, uninhabited structure with nothing inside, then to whom was this homage meant to be paid? The nothingness of the Great Lord, the emptiness of the sacred house, the impoverished condition of Laran were sufficient to represent the whole Timorese system, to which the people felt obliged to adhere. The Loro of Bauho and his supporters never claimed independence from a central power that they considered excessive, even though its (mystical) sanctions were indeed frightening at times. In this regard, the Loro's statement of opposition to the legitimacy of the Radja of Belu was not so much a curse as a prediction. The patrilineal princes tried to preserve the void. Absence of power was necessary if they were to exist and to govern their particular states. In a unique way, they were dependent on Wehali's status. Their own positive power was possible only if the Nai Bot held no power. If the Kesèr remained a nobody, then the real Nai Bot—Earth—retained its negative, occult power that was so deeply feared on all sides. Wehali itself, with its name and its renown, was more important than its representative.

During a stopover at Kupang in 1974, I learned that the Loro of Lakekun's proposal that Malaka be made a separate kabupaten was never implemented; that Liurai Teeseran had retired as Camat of central Malaka and had been replaced by a trained

civil servant; that his cousin Edmundus Teeseran had died "as a consequence of pretending to be a legitimate Liurai"; that Lord Kewar had left Belu altogether, because after his election in 1971, he needed a residence nearer to the Parliament than to his constituency. In Wehali, I learned that the Radja of Wehali, the spokesman, had retired and that he would be succeeded neither by his nephew (who is a leper) nor by anyone else. I also learned that the Kesèr had died in 1971 and that there had been no attempt to replace him.

The question that must be asked now is whether the firm establishment of this standard administration with its young, well-trained, competent officers is going to be the last incursion upon Wehali. If the outside world proves to be satisfied merely by the imposition of a modern administrative structure on what is left of the traditional one, the answer will be yes. But the answer will certainly be no if a patriarchal religion or a paternalistic ideology is introduced to transgress the mother-right defenses of the system. The system has not been particularly successful as an ideology of power during the past four hundred years, but as a system for regulating kinship and marriage, it has, nevertheless, not done badly. Why, then, would outsiders want to threaten the native system with authoritarian change?

Boiled Woman and Broiled Man: Myths and Agricultural Rituals of the Bunaq of Central Timor

Claudine Friedberg

Translated from the French by
Elizabeth Traube

AGRICULTURAL MYTHS AND RITUALS do not figure prominently in van Wouden's work. Nevertheless, in this area, as in that of social organization and kinship which he dealt with more directly, his analysis constitutes a basis for reflection that continues to bear fruit.

Despite the disparate and incomplete nature of the materials at his disposal, van Wouden noted several essential points: the presence of links between the practice of head-hunting and of human sacrifice, either real or mythic, which is performed to make the earth fertile or is associated with the origin of seeds; the fact that in the system of symbolic representation, rice is treated differently from the other cultivated plants; and the problem of determining who holds the power to secure good harvests for the community through ritual practice.

The Timorese materials that van Wouden provided on this subject concern the Atoni, the Dawan-speaking population who occupy the greater part of the western half of the island. They relate principally to two mythological cycles. One concerns Sonnebait, the ruler of the great central Atoni kingdom, and Liulai, the ruler of the Tetun kingdom of the south, who is believed to have come later and become the overlord. The other deals with the two southern Atoni kingdoms, Amanuban and Amanatun, that are situated to the west of Liulai's territory.

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The following is a summary of the first myth:

Sonnebait was a brother of Liulai, the ruler of the Tetun-speaking southern coast: like Liulai, Sonnebait was descended from heaven. In order to subdue the Dawan people in the mountains, he created a river by clearing a mountain and pouring in a pot of water. He then caused a flood by damming this river. Sonnebait's rule was cruel and harsh: each year, when the people brought him the produce of the land, he had one of his subjects killed in order to cool the earth. An autochthonous ruler, Kune, had Sonnebait killed. But afterward, the maize and rice ceased to grow.¹ Then two local rulers set out to alert the Liulai; on the road they found a baby boy with a golden necklace whom the Liulai recognized as his younger brother. At first they hid the infant in a cave so that he would not be killed; the rain began to fall again around the cave, but elsewhere it remained as dry as ever. From this it was concluded that it was necessary to have a Sonnebait as ruler. Everyone submitted to the child and the rain began to pour down. (See van Wouden, 1968, pp. 50–51.)

Van Wouden saw in this myth a manifestation of the fundamental dualism evident in the social organization of eastern Indonesia. He interpreted this dualism as an opposition between a moiety of heaven and a moiety of earth, with the first generally considered superior to the second.

The materials extracted from the myths and rites of Amanuban and Amanatun are more complex:

The most important lineage of Amanuban is called Nubatonis and is located at Tumbesi. The ancestor of this lineage was one of the first four human beings. His daughter was killed and from her body, which was scattered over the earth, sprang the cultivated plants, including rice.

Another myth collected at Manelat (Amanuban), tells that a certain Kesnai of the village of Manela Ane (probably the ancient name of Manelat) owned large rice fields and sacrificed a youth and a girl of Tumbesi every year to ensure good harvests. Two strangers, who arrived in Amanatun, married the daughters of a neighboring ruler and defended the people of Tumbesi. They lay in ambush and beheaded everyone who came from Manela Ane. (See van Wouden, 1968, pp. 56, 122–124.)

In these facts van Wouden again saw the expression of an opposition between the phratry of heaven and that of earth. It is not possible to consider here the whole of his argument, which deals primarily with kinship connections, but there are some aspects of his discussion that are relevant to my purpose. For

instance, van Wouden noted two major difficulties in the interpretation of this material: (1) two elements that are opposed in one context can, in certain circumstances, be associated with each other and opposed, in turn, to another element; and (2) the superiority of one element of a dyad over the other can be reversed, depending on whether the opposition is expressed in terms of cosmological relations, social function, or kinship relations (wife-givers being superior to wife-takers). Thus, on the cosmic plane, one has:

younger brother/elder brother
 heaven/earth
 male/female
 superior/inferior

Yet, in the opposition between the Tumbesi ruler, who is denoted as "masculine," and Manela Ane, who is denoted as "feminine," the former belongs to the autochthonous earthly moiety; while in a wider schema of dyadically opposed elements, Tumbesi and Manela Ane join together in the moiety of Amanuban in opposition to Amanatun.

It appears in the myths that Amanatun was formerly associated with the inferior earth phratry. But on the basis of kinship relations and political function as expressed in various versions of the myth, the rulers of Amanatun and Amanuban subsequently disputed each other's supremacy. When, however, one of them died, the two kingdoms reasserted their unity at the time of the funeral ritual. War was forbidden between them, and the heads needed for the funeral were hunted outside their territories.

Van Wouden interpreted agricultural activities within such a system of symbolic representation in the following way:

Generally speaking, vegetation is classified in one group with the earth . . . The killing of a youth and a girl from Tumbesi, the residence of Nubatonis, by people from Manela Ane must therefore be regarded as a ritual repetition of a sacrifice by the earth-phratry in mythical prehistory, when men were presented with an important part of their most valued possessions. In the ritual, this phratry repeatedly offers itself up in order to make possible the continued existence of the whole society. As the Sonnebait myth clearly shows, the killing had to be done by the sky-phratry. The work of agriculture itself belongs, however, as we shall see further, more to the sphere of the socially feminine half . . . The fact that rice is often conceived as having come from the sky or from the supreme being is no longer



During the ritual *a tate* ("to pour the cooked rice") a woman pours rice onto a wooden plate that is used as a measure. The Lord of the Seeds, a young boy, is assisted by an older man. In this ritual, cooked rice replaces the flesh of the wild pigs. (Copyright © 1980 by Claudine Friedberg)

to be wondered at, while the association with the below which was seen especially in Sonnebait's function as rice-cultivator is perfectly clear. His two-fold character is manifested in his simultaneous appearance as agriculturalist and as sacrificer. The former activity has

to be explained by his relationship with the feminine social half, the group of the agriculturalists; sacrifice belongs to his task as representative of the sky-phratry. The exceptional position of rice in opposition to other food plants is thus connected with the dual division into heavenly and earthly within the same moiety [van Wouden, 1968, pp. 125-126].

When van Wouden wrote these lines, he had at his disposal only very fragmentary evidence on the social organization and myths of these regions. Other materials were collected later, but they proved less rich than the earlier documents on certain points, particularly on head-hunting and on supposed human sacrifices (which, in any case, would have been long since forbidden by the Dutch). If the legend of cruel Dawan Radjas, who immolated humans in order to fertilize the earth, continues to flourish, it is difficult to know whether those who spread it have taken it from autochthonous sources or whether they have simply reconstructed it from writings of the first ethnologists.

The Bunaq-speaking peoples, who live in the mountains of central Timor, are separated from the Atoni by a relatively narrow zone inhabited by Tetun-speaking peoples. Although the Bunaq differ from the Atoni in numerous ways, the two cultures nevertheless belong within the same context as far as social structure and ecology are concerned. Indeed Atoni and Bunaq materials are mutually illuminating.

The Bunaq are divided among several traditionally independent territories. The greater part of the population of approximately 50,000 is situated on what was formerly the Portuguese side of the island, but about 15,000 occupy the territory of Lamaknen on the western side. The core of the material I report here was collected in Lamaknen. However, several stays with the Bunaq of east Timor have revealed some interesting comparative features.

The Passage from the Dry Season to the Rainy Season

In the mountains of central Timor where the Bunaq live, the most critical moment of the agricultural cycle is the time of sowing. The climate in these regions shows marked contrasts; it is also capricious. Rains, brought by winds from the northwest, follow a very marked dry season which begins, depending on the place and year, between May and July (after a variable season of light rains brought by the winds of the southeast).

For nearly four months, from September through December, it is impossible to know when the rains will arrive. The most troublesome factor is that the first rains can be interrupted for several weeks before the season begins in earnest. If at that moment the Bunaq sow maize (the staple food) or rice (the ceremonial food but also the food of those who lack teeth, such as infants and the elderly), the young shoots may wither on their stalks. The seeds may be lost, and the fertilizer, which consists of the ash of the vegetation burned during the preparation of the field, may be exhausted as well. On the other hand, if the Bunaq sow too late, after the rains have already begun, the seeds rot. In this case, too, the harvest is compromised.

According to the Bunaq of Lamaknen, this crucial moment of germination can occur only if there is a meeting between the "seeds of the earth" and the seeds planted in the soil by men. The seeds of the earth are considered female. They are the "breath" (*gosil*) which appears as vapor when the earth, overheated by the sun and by burning, receives the first heavy rains. Once the rains have begun to pour, the newly cooled earth has no more *gosil* and thus no more seeds.

The seeds sown in the earth are placed in the soil from "outside" and consequently take on a male aspect at the moment of sowing, even though they were formed by the female organ of the flower (*guhin*, a term which is also used to designate a woman's womb) following fertilization by pollen (*lapapa* for rice).

For the fertilization to occur between the seeds of the earth and the seeds of the outside, the soil must be as hot as possible at the moment of sowing and the seeds, in contrast, must be cold. Similarly, during sexual intercourse, the body of the woman must be hot and the semen of the man cold. But this holds true only for the moment of intercourse. Thus, in order for an infant to grow, the mother must be fertile and therefore cold; in order for plants to develop, the earth, too, must be cold. In effect, "coldness" is synonymous with fertility, "heat" with danger and combat.

The Unfolding of the First Rituals in Lamaknen

Preparatory to sowing, the seeds of rice or maize must be cooled by means of a ritual at an altar in the fields. A pig, which is considered a "cold" animal, is sacrificed and its blood is used for this purpose.

However, this ritual, which each individual carries out at the

altar in his field, is only the last episode of a series of collective ceremonies whose conclusion must coincide with the arrival of the first heavy rains. These rituals should take place after the burning of the fields, and no one may sow before they are completed. Immediately afterward, the seeds, for which a good germination has thus been ensured, may be planted.² The date of these presowing rituals is very important. At Abis, in upper Lamaknen, where I observed these events, the *Naqi Biso Bin* ("Lord of the Seeds") and the *Ipi Gomo* ("Masters of the Rice") determine this date.

The Masters of the Rice come at dusk to knock at the door of each house in the village to alert the inhabitants. They do this when the birds and mice are sleeping, and they make no noise to avoid waking them and attracting their attention. The Bunaq say that this is to prevent the birds and mice from learning that the seeds, which they relish, are about to be sowed. The Masters of the Rice instruct the members of each household to gather banana leaves to wrap the cakes which will be prepared for one of the rituals of this cycle. These cakes and some fruit are placed on the tombs of the ancestors as offerings. Each lineage goes to the ancestral tombs with its wife-givers, who also bring cakes and fruits which the wife-takers carry back with them. This ritual, called *tubilai* ("to place cakes"), gives its name to the entire cycle.

The Masters of the Rice come a second time to tell the people to begin to soak the husked rice that will be ground to make the cakes. Finally, they come a third time, again at night, to announce (usually by means of a string tied with as many knots as days remaining before the ritual) when the first ritual—called *hoto boto hosok* ("to receive the smoke of the fire") or *an gene* ("in the tall grass")—is to take place.

In the late hours of the night, the Lord of the Seeds and an assistant perform a ritual called *mun leuq goloq* ("the liana to encircle the place"). It consists of encircling a pile of stones with a liana and leaving a very narrow opening between two little stakes (spaced one to two centimeters apart) to which the liana is attached. This little pile of stones represents the parents, *ema-ama* ("mother-father"), of all the *muk kukun* ("shades of the earth") of the territory of the village. Such places, marked by one or two stones, are consecrated to the "shades" (that is, to the beings from the beyond who haunt the entire territory) and particularly to the *Pan o Muk Gomo* ("Masters of the Heavens and the Earth"). For the Bunaq of Lamaknen, these are not living

beings, but rather the spirits of the people who inhabited the land before them, the Melus.³

But these invisible shades also manifest themselves in a visible form as stags and wild pigs. What is achieved during the *mun leuq goloq* is a symbolic encircling of these animals. Escape is possible only through the narrow opening between the two stakes; thus the animals can easily be caught. The morning of the following day is consecrated to the hunt, which should be fruitful.

The nature of the game, however, is ambiguous since in principle the *Pan o Muk Gomo* are the deceased autochthones. According to informants, there is little chance of killing wild pigs or stags if someone in the village has died, for, it is believed, the deceased will have warned the other *kukun*, or shades, that a hunt is going to take place. Moreover, the hunters must express themselves in a coded language, reserved exclusively for this occasion, in which the usual sense of a word is replaced by another, so that the *kukun* will not understand. Therefore, it seems that it is the dead—either *Bunaq* or *Melus*—who present themselves in the form of game.

At dawn on the following morning, all the men of the village reunite with spears at a place designated in advance by the Masters of the Rice. They set out together for the hunt, although for this—and only this—occasion, they are divided into two moieties: the *gamal esen* ("upper males") and the *gamal moal* ("lower males"). Each is named according to its reunion place in the village; one meets at the upper end, the other at the lower end. The moiety to which a person is assigned depends on the *Deu* ("House") to which he belongs.⁴ The upper males are the men of the *Deu* that is heir to the "feminine" *Melus* chief, whose lineage house is at the upper end of the village, plus the men of all houses that were founded by a man from this house or to which this house is a wife-giver. The lower males are the men of the *Deu* that is heir to the "masculine" *Melus* chief, whose lineage house is located at the base of the village, as well as the men of all houses that have come from this house.⁵ Each moiety possesses a magical bundle (*soqe*), which contains objects intended to ensure a bountiful hunt. One contains a single plant called *patal Muk Gomo* ("pimento of the Masters of the Soil"); it is a wild *Piper* with red fruit, which is considered poisonous to wild pigs. In the other are various plants and animals, selected because they too are thought to be poisons or because they supposedly represent or symbolize certain qualities. For example, a

little black ant, which turns continuously and never progresses very far, is said to keep the game similarly confined.

Before departing for the hunt, the Bunaq perform several rituals. First the hunters, using their lances, enact a mock murder of the Masters of the Rice. The latter kneel in a circle, and when the hunters point lances at them, they cry, imitating wounded wild pigs: "Coi! Coi!" Then each of the two groups either submits to or performs magical gestures intended to make the hunt bountiful. In particular, the guardian of each soqe smears the fingers of the men of his moiety with betel mixed with soqe objects.

While one group of Masters of the Rice sets off across the country with the men, the others go to the muk kukun of the territory selected for the hunt, where they place betel to *Pan Muk Gomo gimil wit*, that is, to ravish the heart or to seduce the Masters of the Soil so that they will liberate the game. The Masters of the Rice also set out some tobacco, pour out a little palm liquor to inebriate the wild pigs, and lay down dry leaves, which symbolize the pigs' death. They then lie down on the spot and pretend to sleep so that the wild pigs will sleep too.

While the men are at the hunt, no smoke may rise over the village territory and thus the women are not allowed to cook. Their only authorized—in fact, enjoined—activity is the game of *barut*, a type of marble game. They may not wash, nor may they cross the river in which the last drops of water of the dry season flow.

As soon as an animal has been hit, the men fashion a flute from a hollow reed and blow into it. The Bunaq say they do this to honor the slain animal, just as they honor the men killed in war when they return to the village with severed heads.

When night approaches and the sound of flutes nearing the village alerts the women that the men are returning, cooking fires are lighted. The men arrive bearing their wild pigs, which are tied by their feet to a branch. The pigs are carried by either two or four men, depending on the weight of the pigs. Arriving at the gates of the village, the men cast down their flutes. They then place the slain game on a rock reserved for this purpose which is located in front of the lineage house of the Lord of the Seeds. A woman of this house receives the animal with betel as if it were a human being. In contrast to the proceedings following an ordinary hunt, those who have struck first and killed the wild pigs do not receive the head and the foot (*lulin*). The entire beast belongs to the Lord of the Seeds, who divides it with the Masters of the Rice. Only when game is very plentiful does each house receive a share.

In effect, the wild pigs killed that day are *lolon win* ("the stalk and the ear," that is, rice and maize). At the end of the ceremonial cycle, the hunters who have killed the big game receive a basket of cooked rice rather than the piece of meat that is their due. A large basket goes to the man who hit the beast first, a small one to the person who killed it. This final ritual is called *a tate* ("to pour the cooked rice").

Once the game is hung from a tree out of reach of the dogs, the Lord of the Seeds and the Masters of the Rice proceed to the *bosok o op* ("altar and mountain"), the collective altar of the village situated at the reunion place. There they perform the ritual from which this first ceremonial day receives its name: *hoto boto hosok* ("to receive the smoke of the fire"). A "Master of the Word" (*Lal Gomo*) offers a russet-feathered chicken (which the Bunaq categorize as red) and recites a chant. The chant begins with an invocation to the "Masters of the Altar"; it calls on the Melus who formerly inhabited the village, on the first Bunaq who chased them away and took the village, and particularly on the first person who arrived to become Master of the Seeds.

As is customary in Bunaq texts, each verse is constructed on a pair of words that oppose or complement each other. The following is a translation of an excerpt from the chant:

At Nunu Pusuq–Nunu Lian
 the seventh child of the sun and the moon
 Loro Mone Guloq–Dato Mone Guloq⁶
 transforms himself into flame and smoke
 identifies himself with the flame and the smoke⁷
 his ash, his soot
 the flame, the smoke
 today
 at Sabu Laka–Saran Tatu⁸
 at ce Bosok op
 the mat is spread to receive them
 not with the word alone
 with a chicken, with a dog
 we receive the ash and the soot
 the flame and the smoke

.
 in front of the lataq, at the foot of banyan tree
 on this day
 the people of Sabu Laka–Saran Tatu
 the royal seeds, the noble seedlings⁹
 we extend the hands to receive them
 we await with the mat unrolled
 let them descend onto the mat.

The rest of the text is a prayer that asks that the new agricultural cycle, which is ready to begin, be allowed to develop well and prove fertile. Addressed to the Master of the Altar, it requests in particular that the wind and the rain not be permitted to interfere with the harvest.

Myth of the Origin of the Seeds

The chant is incomprehensible unless one knows the myth of the origin of the seeds. This myth is recited only every three years when the final ceremony, *a tate*, takes place at the *lataq*, the courtyard where a portion of the tubilai rituals always unfolds. The *lataq* is used only for this occasion. In the two intervening years, the *a tate* takes place one year at the house of the Lord of the Seeds and the other year at the village reunion place, where the community altar is located. When the *a tate* is performed at the *lataq*, the entire population, led by alternating Masters of the Word, chant the *a gua* ("path of the cultivated plants") throughout the night and following morning. (Actually *a*, "to eat," signifies cooked rice, but it also refers to all Bunaq foods, especially vegetable foods.) The *a gua* follows the same schema as the "path of the ancestors" (*bei gua*) but tells only of the preparation of the fields.¹⁰ It begins at the primordial field, a garden (*kintal Laq Lawar*) where only luxury plants grow: garlic, cabbage, sugarcane, banana trees, betel, areca, and coconut palms (*in, kobi, up, mok, molo, pu, hoza*).¹¹ Thus, grouped together are plants of recent and ancient origin, a classic practice in myths. Coconut palms, banana trees, and sugarcane are very ancient, whereas cabbage, as its name, "kobi," indicates, is a Portuguese contribution. In this garden are born the five brothers and the sister, who gave birth to the three lineages that are traced in the *bei gua*.

The descent line of Oburo is the first to be traced. Its ancestors cultivate a field of maize, soybeans, millet, Job's tears, taro, and yams. Although introduced by the Portuguese, maize is mentioned in the publicly recited text, which recounts only principal events (see Berthe, 1972). In more detailed versions, which give the exact source of each seed obtained with women as dowry, maize is not mentioned.

The ancestors of the second line of descent, Luta, land in the south after a voyage across the seas. On their arrival in Timor, they cultivate a field of rice.

The ancestors of Sibiri, the descent line whose itinerary is recited last, cultivate a field of millet. From the slopes of Mount Lakus, where they live, they move to the valley of Be Bai in the

north and settle at Nunu Pusuq–Nunu Lian. The Masters of the Place are Bui Lorok and Mau Lorok, children of the first men who descended from heaven to the peak of Mount Lakan. They are not Bunaq, and the Bunaq call them Lakan Roman. The ancestors of Sibiri want to prepare a field but realize that they have no seeds, for, informants add, they have already exhausted their supplies. So they appeal to some neighbors in Dinoq Baq–Dinoq Wai (“Great Tear–Small Tear”). A brother and sister, Dasi Bau Maliq and Dasi Lika Miliq (“Dasi” is a title reserved for nobles), live there. They too are children of the Lakan Roman, but of the Lakan Roman who descended on Mount Lakus. The brother, Bau Maliq, sets out at once to find the black serpent, the guardian of the seven bamboo ladders that unite heaven and earth. But the seeds that it gives them are boiled and thus will not germinate. Furious, the ancestors of Sibiri cut off the serpent’s arms and legs and send Bau Maliq and Lika Maliq to search for seeds again. This time, the two ascend the seven ladders themselves and reach the primordial hearth where they confront its guardian, the Lord, who is Son of the Sun (the mother) and the Moon (the father), the Lord with only one eye and one ear. From him they request and obtain the things they need: torches, mats, various kinds of baskets including winnowing baskets, a soqe, a grinding stone, and seeds, that is, everything required for a good harvest.¹² They descend to the earth and prepare a new field at Nunu Pusuq–Nunu Lian. When the vegetation is dry:

Dasi Bau Maliq, identifying himself with the torch, identifying himself with the seeds, goes to place the flint and the steel at the borders of the field; then identifying himself with the seeds, he installs himself at the central altar of the field. The slaves [*mila*] of Nunu Pusuq, the men [*en*] of Nunu Lian strike the flint and set the field on fire. Surrounded by the flame, by the smoke, identifying himself with the flame, he passes away. Perched on a branch, he transforms himself into *ati tou nowa* [a bird that sings just before the rainy season], transforms himself into *koroq-koroq* [which designates a bird that sings before the rainy season but also means “wet”], and transforms himself into *epe-epe* [which translates as “humidity”].

Dasi Bau Maliq says:

The moment will come on the land of Dinoq Baq–Dinoq Wai when you will move out of yourselves, the tears and the mucus will fall drop by drop; this will then be *ili goru* and *kaboqeq* [two plants, which in the myths symbolize the clouds and the humidity].¹³

In the field, the humidity rises. At the end of a week, the ancestors go out to investigate: shoots have emerged from the soil. A week later, able to identify the different varieties of rice, the ancestors of Sibiri go to inform Mau Loroq, the Master of the Place.

There are numerous versions of this myth of the origin of seeds at Lamaknen. The prayer recited at the altar of the village (which I have already given) alludes to a different version from that of the *Bei Gua* (L. Berthe, 1972). The seventh Son of the Sun and the Moon, the sacrificed being, is not Dasi Bau Maliq but Bau Maliq's youngest son, who was borne by Dasi Lika Maliq, Bau's wife and sister. This child is thus the fruit of incest.

Moreover, whereas Dasi Bau Maliq's sacrifice appears to have been voluntary, some versions say that the sacrifice of his son is perpetrated by his brothers. In this account, it is even necessary to cut the body in two so that half can be placed on the altar in each of the two cultivated fields. Indeed, because everything is composed of pairs in Bunaq myths, all the fields, except the kintal Laq Lawar, are double.

In addition to different versions of the myth in verse, there also exist others in the form of prose tales. Some of these tales reveal how the different cultivated plants originated from a particular part of the body of a sacrificed being. In the other prose variants it is the couple, Bui and Mau (apparently identified with the Masters of the Place at Nunu Pusuq), who disappear after the preparation of the field. Their children go to search for them in the upperworld, but the parents refuse to recognize them. In one version, they are transformed into birds that are harbingers of the rain; in another, into two great wild pigs that accompany the children on their return to earth. In both cases, the children go back to earth after receiving a little chicken from a man of the upperworld, a man whose identity is not revealed. By scattering the feathers of the chicken, they receive all manner of riches.

The prose variants help explain the general symbolic context of the myth of the origin of seeds, which is evoked during the *hoto boto hosok*. Here, however, I am mainly interested in the events recounted in the myth as they apply to Nunu Pusuq-Nunu Lian. In fact, it is from the ancestors of Sibiri who were present that the Lord of the Seeds at Abis inherited his function. Less clear is the manner in which the function of the nine Masters of the Rice was assigned. This is held by the Houses of both the old and the new feminine chiefs as well as by that of the masculine chief. In these Houses, however, it is not the political

chiefs—that is, those with “extended” power (*oe nolaq*)—who are the Masters of the Rice, but rather the individuals who have “restricted,” or ritual, power (*oe til*). Thus, what the village community symbolically collects on the day of hoto boto hosok is not just seeds but also the promise of rain. Rain generally arrives at the end of the cycle of tubilai rituals, at the time of a *tate*, the ritual during which the flesh of the wild pigs is replaced by cooked rice.¹⁴

The seeds are symbolically gathered on a mat that is kept in the house of the Lord of the Seeds and laid on the collective altar for this occasion. The mat is guarded by the Lord of the Seeds and the Masters of the Rice. They do not leave the altar at all during the following day, which is also consecrated to the hunt. During the night that follows, they take the mat to the lataq. Absolute darkness and silence must reign over the village on this night: the birds, the ants, and the mice must not know that the seeds are now in the village and will soon be sown. In fact, on the following day, during further rituals, the Masters of the Rice symbolically feed these animals and ask them not to come to eat the planted foods. On this day people gather at the graves to make offerings, and on the following day the *a tate* is held.

But let me return to my discussion of the ritual of hoto boto hosok. After a prayer, a chicken is sacrificed by striking it on the altar, rather than by cutting its throat, which is the usual method of sacrifice. The offering is made so that the roots of the plants will not be cut off. The animal is singed to remove the feathers; it is then boiled and finally dismembered. Pieces are placed in the small baskets, intended for the collective altar, for the Bei Suri (the sacrificed being), for each of the moieties, and for the muk kukun. They are divided among the participants. A thigh goes to the House of the new feminine chief, a drumstick to the House of the old feminine chief; the other thigh goes to the Lord of the Seeds, the other drumstick to his assistant.

The baskets also contain rice, which the women cooked as soon as they heard the flutes announce the return of the men. This rice is called a *boto gie* (“food of the smoke”). The significance of the cooking of rice following the prohibition on water and fire, as well as the general behavior of the women throughout this day, relates to another myth.

The Mythic Significance of the Boiled Woman

The chief activity of the women on the day of hoto boto hosok is the playing of a marble game with barut (*Aleurites moluccana*)

nuts, a game that plays a major role on one particular occasion known in myths by the name *bon gozep* ("to cut the liana"). This plant (*Entada phaseolides*) is one of the biggest lianas in Bunaq territory. The tale is set at the beginning of time, when heaven and earth still touched each other:

At that time there lived a man, a woman, and their child. They have neither water nor fire. The woman goes to search for these things in the sky. But on the way she lingers to watch the people of that world play with barut, and she asks them what they are doing. Meanwhile, on earth the child cries and, in anger, the man cuts the liana [*bon*] that unites heaven and earth. The two separate from each other. The woman can no longer come back down; her husband searches for her. Someone tells him that he will find her again in seven days on the side of the setting sun marked by the crescent moon. Indeed, the woman appears seven days later at sunset, but with her are the *puan* which bring death and sickness to the earth.

Here we can clearly see the classic mythic theme of the acquisition of fire accompanied by the separation of heaven and earth.

The Bunaq express something more in this episode, however. A detailed analysis of several variants conducted in collaboration with the Masters of the Word has enabled me to bring it out. The game of barut during hoto boto hosok served as a guideline.

Played with a seed, which in some tales is used by women to anoint their genitals and thus attract male monkeys, barut symbolizes the amorous games that precede copulation. What the heroine of *bon gozep* found in the sky, in addition to the water and fire she went in search of, was the secret of procreation. It was taught to her by the moon, who is male according to the Bunaq. That she also brought the *puan* back from the sky means that once men knew how to multiply, they had to be made mortal.

The prohibition on water and fire during the day of hoto boto hosok thus restores the community of men to the initial mythic situation. The earth is again in direct communication with heaven and can receive its goods: the male seeds necessary both to women and to the earth to ensure the birth of new beings. The seeds that the women receive are symbolized by the little baskets of rice they carry to the altar. Since the status of the seeds of the earth is more complex, they do not appear until the end of the cycle. The wives in the *Bei Gua* (L. Berthe, 1972) are always metaphorically called *biso bin* ("seeds"); and in fact one of the water buffalo that a House receives in payment for a woman is

kept for sacrifice at the lataq in the year that the *a gua* is chanted.

The parallel that the Bunaq establish between earth and woman is expressed again in the ritual that follows childbirth. As in other populations of the archipelago and the Asian continent, a Bunaq woman must stay beside a hot fire prepared by her husband. But the fire is not enough; the upper part of the woman's body must be dabbed with rags soaked in the water that is always kept by the hearth. In order to restore her fertility—that is, to renew the female seeds—a Bunaq woman must be “boiled.” Similarly, the earth is “boiled” when, overheated by the sun and by the fire of men, it receives the first rains which vaporize on its surface.

The association of water and fire is the attribute of women. Boiled meat is food of a married couple. A bachelor eats only meat that has been broiled or roasted. Men handle fire; the husband prepares the hearth for his wife when she gives birth; he lights the charcoal; he wanders all day long in the heat of the summer to hunt wild pigs so that the village can gather male seeds. But his semen is cold. Male seeds are those born of the metamorphosis of the being sacrificed at the altar of the field, for these are the seeds that are introduced into the earth. As such, they cannot be boiled, as the episode of the snake indicates. The evocation of tears and especially of wetness and mucus is clear. What is actually involved is “sperm” for the earth, and rain is merely one aspect of this sperm. However, a new ritual must be performed at the altar of each field in order to cool the seeds again with the blood of a pig.

The Mythic Significance of the Broiled Man

The reason for human sacrifice at the altar of Nunu Pusuq remains obscure. Why must a being be killed in order to fertilize the earth? Here again, a mythic text can enlighten us; it is a prose tale that narrates the struggle between Lord Laku Leik and his son Kaloqa (see also Friedberg, 1973).

Before setting out on a journey, the Lord tells his pregnant wife that if she gives birth to a son, she has to kill him. She has two sons but refuses to sacrifice them and hides them far away. The Lord returns and realizes that he has been deceived. He sets out in search of his sons, finds them, and kills the one called Kaloqa with a stake reddened in the fire. Lobosina, the other son, escapes. Some young girls who have descended from the sky discover Kaloqa, restore him to life, and lead him beyond seven hills to their mother in the upper-

world. When he becomes a young man and tries to go farther, he passes the seventh hill and arrives at the village of the Lord Laku Leik. Laku Leik gives a feast at which cockfights are held. The boy returns to the mother who has adopted him and demands a cock. He receives it and sets out again. Suddenly, he arrives at the edge of the field of Lobosina. Lobosina says: "The cat eats the birds, watch in silence! The voice of that bird is like the voice of my friend Kaloqa." He then goes to meet his friend at the edge of the field, and he recognizes him. Together they go to their mother. Then Kaloqa and Lobosina separate. Kaloqa leaves first for Laku Leik's village; Lobosina follows him. The cockfight begins. Laku Leik wagers all his wealth against Kaloqa, who wins each time; then Laku Leik wagers his land and finally himself; still he loses. Kaloqa then addresses the people and has him seized and imprisoned in a pigpen. Lobosina governs this land, and Kaloqa reascends to the sky.

The sense of this myth is easily brought out with the help of other myths in which the term "kaloqa" is used to designate clouds. The solar nature of Laku Leik is clearly underlined by the way in which he kills Kaloqa. Without doubt, the subject of this tale is the alternation of seasons—the succession of the rainy and the dry seasons. Thus, the necessity of a sacrifice in order to ensure rain is clearer. For the clouds to return to life and vanquish the sun, the sun must first have "killed" the clouds; in other words, the order of the seasons must be respected.

But there is a detail that demonstrates the association between the sacrifice at the altar of Nunu Pusuq and the story of Laku Leik. It is the sentence pronounced by Lobosina: "The voice of that bird is like the voice of my friend Kaloqa." To ensure the arrival of rain, there must have been a previous murder, a murder by fire. However, in the myth and ritual at Abis, there is a contradiction in this interpretation of the sacrifice of Bei Suri or of Bau Maliq. The sacrifice takes place just before the arrival of the rain. Nevertheless, it involves the same myth. In lower Lamaknen at Magil, L. Berthe collected two versions of the episode of Nunu Pusuq—Nunu Lian (there called Tutu Pusuq—Tutu Lian). These texts involve a disjunction between two deaths: first, the youngest son of Bau Maliq is killed by fire when the fields are burned; next Bau Maliq kills himself (in an unspecified way in this version) because he is ashamed of his failure to find seeds. From his body emerge all the cultivated plants, rice first of all.

But in the villages in which this myth is told, the rituals mark-

ing the passage from the dry to the rainy season last several weeks. The hunts themselves are accompanied by the burning of the great savannas as well as the lower spurs of the hills. This introduces the problem of the role of game animals in the planting rituals.

The Mythic Significance of Wild Pigs

In the *bei gua*, as it is told at Abis, wild pigs intervene twice, both times as animals captured during the hunt who turn into young girls. The first time, this occurs in the course of an ordinary hunt; the second time, during a hunt for wild pigs who are ravaging the fields of the people of Oburo. Two wild pigs are captured at the altar in the field and they transform themselves into two young girls: Soi Lumaq and Olo Lumaq (*lumaq*: "to raise"). These two women are the object of litigation between two brothers, ancestors of Oburo; the elder is Asa Paran, and the younger Mau Paran. The elder brother does not want to share the women. The younger brother leaves him and, after a series of misadventures which form a celebrated epic among the Bunaq, acquires two oranges, which turn themselves into women. The jealous Asa Paran kills his brother, but the "orange-wives" restore Mau Paran to life and then Mau Paran, in turn, kills Asa Paran. The younger brother then possesses four wives, by whom he has numerous descendants. Those who presently occupy Lamaknen are descended from the orange-women, not from the pig-women.

In a version from Oe Lequ, at the eastern border of the Bunaq population, the narrative ends with the death of Asa Paran. In their commentaries, informants added that the orange-women married the Dasi, the nobles from the south, and not Mau Paran.

What is interesting is that Oe Lequ, Asa and Mau Paran, Olo and Soi Lumaq are the heros of a *gua* ("path of the cultivated plants"). They are introduced at the beginning as ancestors, or *nei nie tata, nei nie bei* ("our early grandparents, our grandparents"). Yet when they arrive at Oe Lequ at the end of their peregrination, they have no descendants. It seems that the only reason for their presence in the myth is to bring the seeds. They arrive by sea on a boat and land at the coast of Mau Baraq near the mouth of Be Bai. But the first seeds that they bring and sow in a field near Atulai are not good, so they go back over the seas to search for more. They return and make a second field next to Soilesuq Sanirin. At this point, a child of Lord Sun and Lord Moon intervenes. He descends from the upperworld, but the

myth says nothing more about his identity and his action. Immediately the text continues: "Search no more! At the foot of the field altar, the tears and the mucus flow, there are the seeds, the flame has borne them, the smoke has borne them." After three days, the plants have germinated, the ancestors are happy, and, their tears having dried, they laugh.

The text, which is comprehensible only if one knows the myth of Nunu Pusuq, becomes progressively obscure toward the end. The ancestors of the House of Beba appear; this House will be the first to arrive at Oe Lequ and will be both the highest in the hierarchy of the three feminine chiefs and the Lord of the Seeds. They instruct the people of Cailaco to burn the grass at the desired moment. Even today, at the sight of the smoke the people of Oe Lequ know that they must perform the rites of passage from the dry to the rainy season, which, as in Lamaknen, involve days of hunting.

The text continues with a fairly confused narration. Whether the heroes are Olo and Soi Lumak, Asa and Mau Paran, or the ancestors of Beba is not clear. Seeds are demanded or distributed at each stage. At last, Olo and Soi Lumaq arrive at Oe Lequ, where the nobles, gathered at the reunion place, receive an unnamed object, probably the seeds.

In this text, various elements that belong to the symbolism of the origin of seeds seem to have been thrown together without there being any effort made to connect them. The allusion to the sacrifice of Nunu Pusuq—Nunu Lian, in particular, is wrenched from its usual context. Indeed, the Bunaq of Lamaknen claim that this episode was stolen at the same time as the rice seeds. According to the myth, the people of Oe Lequ are accused of having stolen the seeds during the harvest festival at the field of Nunu Pusuq.

What is interesting in this version is that Olo and Soi Lumaq, whose animal origin is made clear in other myths, appear. They are presented as the bearers of the seeds to the community. If one considers equally the prose variants of the myth of the origin of the seeds, in which the parents disappear and return to earth with their children in the form of wild pigs, then the role of the game and the offerings at the tombs in the ritual of tubilai become explicit.

The Origin of the Seeds and the Theme of Ritual Murder

Two themes are combined in the ritual cycle, both of which can explain the necessity of ritual murder.

The first concerns the succession of the seasons. The dry season and the rainy season cannot coexist. To ensure the coming of the rains, the sun must triumph first. The rains arrive when the heat of the sun is strongest. Moreover, in Bunaq tradition there is another theme, besides the struggle of the sun and the clouds, which is associated with the succession of seasons: the war between the Pleiades and Orion following a dispute over hunting territory. The latter constellation (more precisely, the nebula of Orion, considered by the Bunaq an imperfect replica of the Pleiades) was defeated and his left shoulder removed. This mutilation, it seems, was formerly inflicted on one's enemies before head-hunting was introduced into Timor. This cosmic struggle is but the representation of the heavenly chase in which Orion and the Pleiades seem to be engaged. When the rainy season is near, the latter appears triumphantly on the horizon at nightfall.

The second theme concerns food products, particularly the essential cultivated plants, which are transformed into human flesh. Inversely, human flesh, that of dead bodies, is transformed into plants.

The important role that the game (more specifically, the wild pig) plays in the rituals of tubilai is apparent from their having a place in both themes simultaneously. The hunt precedes agriculture, both absolutely and in the unfolding of the seasons. It is the prime activity of the dry season, when movement from place to place is easy and when there is little work because the preparation of fields does not require all of a person's time.¹⁵

Certainly, the hunt had not the same importance everywhere. It is a question of the relation between the densities of human and animal populations, which are linked with the condition of the vegetation. Hunting must certainly have been more important in the plain where vast stretches of savanna are found; these areas are largely uninhabited, for they are flooded in the rainy season. In these zones, game must have played an important alimentary role in conjunction with the juice of the *Arenga* and *Borassus* palms, which grow in abundance there. The sago of the *Corypha* is also used, at least to feed the pigs. Thus, there was a basis for a mixed agricultural and hunting-gathering economy in the lowlands of Timor. Moreover, for the practice of mixed agriculture (and this applies equally in the mountain regions), the hunt before sowing helped to eliminate the animals likely to ravage the fields.

The wild pig is considered, however, an emanation of beings

from the beyond, particularly the dead, who haunt the earth. The ambiguity derives from the dual participation of the dead in the earth, where they are buried, and in the upperworld, where they dwell in the *tas masaq* ("great city"). They are conducted to the *tas masaq* at the end of the funeral ceremony, which may take place several years after death. In fact, one may say that after death a deceased Bunaq is divided into three parts: the body itself, which remains in the earth; the "soul that flies" (*melo he*), which is conducted to the domain of the ancestors; and the "flesh soul" (*melo si*), which the Lord of the Single Eye, the guardian of the primordial hearth, sends his dogs to search for, grills on his *tasu rok*, and then devours.

The symbolic association established between earth, ancestors, and wealth is related to the ideology of populations who regard themselves as autochthonous.¹⁶ This idea is expressed in the prose versions of the myth of Nunu Pusuq, in which a couple descended from the first inhabitants of Timor, the Lakan Roman, disappear into the world of the dead. From this point of view, the transformation of the dead into birds (emanations of the upperworld) is equivalent to the transformation of the dead into wild pigs (emanations of the earth).

In the poetic versions as they are recited at Abis, the symbolic association of the earth-origin of seeds endures, although the seeds come directly from heaven, since the sacrificed being is descended from the autochthones; theoretically, he is not the ancestor of any Bunaq. The myth is clear on this subject. The Bunaq ancestors of the Sibiri line are superior to him since they are the ones who sent him in search of the seeds. The autochthones intervene in the genealogies only in the form of wild pig-wives, and again no Bunaq would accept them as ancestors.

In contrast, the association between the seeds and the earth is completely suppressed in the version of the Nunu Pusuq myth recited at Oe Lequ; the sacrificed being is not connected with any descendant and is simply called Son of the Sun and the Moon. It is suppressed in the Magil version also. The sacrificed being is presented as having descended directly from heaven to Wehali on the southern coast; there he embarks on a boat, circles Timor until he reaches Batugade on the northern coast, and goes to ask for a wife from some people on the coast of Balibo (the commentary says only that they are not autochthones).

Concluding Remarks

Following van Wouden's approach and using the materials provided here, one could examine how the elements of the sym-

bolic system that I have isolated are utilized at the level of social organization to establish relationships between ritual power and political power. Since it is not possible to undertake such an analysis here, I shall merely outline some of these relationships.

Ritual power, as I mentioned earlier, affects the prosperity of the land by means of symbolic action. In these agricultural societies, it is considered the power that determines the abundance of the harvest. But who is the bearer of this power, and what is the symbolic process by which it is wielded?

At Abis, as we have seen, the unfolding of the rituals that mark the onset of a new agricultural cycle are directly related to mythological narratives. The master of these rituals does not belong to the political hierarchy; rather, he is considered to be the descendant of the heroes who were the original participants in the myth of the origin of seeds. In contrast, members of the House regarded as the heir of the autochthonous feminine chief are the officiants at harvest rituals and the guardians of agricultural products.

Among the Atoni, according to the myths referred to by van Wouden, the ruler performs the sacrifice that assures the prosperity of the land. Actually, at least in Insana, the *Atupas*, the feminine chief, is considered responsible for the agricultural rituals that precede the sowing of the seeds (see Friedberg, 1974a). Traditionally, this feminine chief belongs to the female branch of the House Us Taoli, while political power is invested in the male branch of this House.

The core of these ceremonies consists in displaying before the representatives of the entire territory the sacred objects that have come from Wehali, the sovereign kingdom to the south. Significantly, the *Atupas* line is said to have originated in this kingdom. According to the myth, the line was founded by a man who came to Insana and married the sister of the founder of the lineage Us Taoli. Therefore, in return for his ritual services, the *Atupas* receives a tribute in kind. All the nobles, none of whom till the soil, also receive a share of this tribute.

In Wehali itself, it is also the feminine chief, the *Nai Bot*, who possesses ritual power over the fertility of the kingdom (see Francillon, 1967). He exercises this power by cultivating a small sacred field. It appears that in return for this service, the population of Wehali presented him only with symbolic offerings of rice and maize. But perhaps he received a tribute in gold, silver, and sandalwood from vassals further away.

In the case of the Bunaq, the way in which ritual power is exercised varies from village to village. But ritual power holders

participate in production, as does everyone else, including the nobles. The offerings presented at harvesttime are symbolic. Nevertheless, in each territory the feminine chief traditionally has the prerogative of calling on the entire population to cultivate a field, as long as he feeds all participants with an abundance of meat and liquor on each day of work.

At Hulul, for example, there is a sacred field (*mar por*), which is entrusted to a House descended from the autochthonous Melus who received the first seeds from Wehali in return for some medicines. The cultivation of this field regulates the unfolding of all agricultural tasks. Hoto boto hosok is not performed, for the arrival of the seeds is not linked to the myth of Nunu Pusuq–Nunu Lian. The guardian of agricultural products is a member of the House of the first Bunaq settlers. This was the House of the feminine chief until newcomers stole the title by trickery.

In the mythic history of Magil (a part of Bunaq territory that was formerly autonomous), the seeds have several origins. Some came from the ancient feminine chief, a descendant of whom is the Lord of the Seeds. Others were brought by the ancestors of the House of the new feminine chief, who belong to the descent line of Luta. They also came from Nunu Pusuq–Nunu Lian, where, according to the version of the origin myth recited at Magil, the hero of heavenly origin arrived from Wehali. These seeds were divided among the different founding Houses at Magil, each of which planted them in a separate field.

Gewal, in lower Lamaknen, follows the same mythic traditions as Magil. Once again, it was the descendants of Luta who stole the principal hierarchic titles from the original Bunaq Houses. However, the ancient feminine House is still regarded as Muk Gomo (Master of the Soil), while the House of the ancient masculine chief is the custodian of the sacred field. As for the seeds, the ancestor of the present feminine chief's House acquired them, together with a wife, from the feminine chief of Magil. Furthermore, the present masculine chief's House, founded by the feminine chief's brother, is the guardian (*gomo*) of the seed altar. Another House that derives from Luta has the function of guarding the agricultural products.

One could continue this inventory among the Bunaq, the Tetun, and the Atoni and ascertain the distribution of the powers associated with the prosperity of the community. On the basis of the present data, we can begin to perceive the tendencies toward concentration or differentiation of ritual power and

political power expressed in terms of a speculation about legitimization. This speculation at times turns on the question of who settled the land first; at other times, on relationships to the suzerain kingdom of Wehali or on kinship ties with the original participants mentioned in the myth of the origin of the seeds. We must bear in mind that for the Bunaq of Lamaknen, positions in the political hierarchy are related to the possession of insignia of power, gold objects that are passed on, usually through women. The phenomenon is so complex that it is difficult to imagine an analysis in terms of the dualism that van Wouden envisioned. Yet, although moieties do appear at Abis (and in other villages of Lamaknen) on such occasions as ritual hunts, actual symbolism cannot be related directly to moiety dualism.

Moreover, we might hope that a deeper analysis of these materials would allow us to apprehend the origin of rice through its symbolic position. Indeed, the myth of the origin of the seeds at Nunu Pusuq is, as we have seen, the myth of the origin of rice.¹⁷ What is more, the entire symbolism of the sowing-time rituals described for Abis is related to the Bunaq conception of seed germination. The Bunaq believe that tubers planted during the dry season possess sufficient reserves of "coldness" to germinate before the onset of the rains. In contrast to Bunaq symbolism, Atoni symbolism may reflect an agriculture based on tubers and seeds equally, since it simply asserts that the earth must be cooled after burning. But we must not forget that other cereals, millet and Job's tears, were cultivated on Timor before rice was introduced.

It is difficult to relate the form of a community's agricultural production directly to the nature of its ritual power and to draw conclusions concerning the relationships between ritual power and political power. The symbolic way in which a society seeks to ensure its prosperity is linked, on the one hand, to its world view and, on the other, to its actual social organization. It would be illusory to assume that one is the mirror image of the other. Nevertheless, the undeniable connection of the two can be encapsulated only by focusing on the linkage achieved through the ritual process.

14 Mambai Rituals of Black and White

Elizabeth Traube

IN *Types of Social Structure in Eastern Indonesia*, van Wouden elucidated the recurrence of a "dualistic complex" or "dual organization" elaborated in the social institutions and myths of a range of eastern Indonesian societies. He discerned a tendency throughout the area to classify both social and cosmological elements into pairs and to weave the two parallel sets into one all-embracing dual classification, subsuming both society and cosmos into the same model.

Van Wouden's interpretations of religious dualism constantly refer to the systematic opposition of clans and phratries, the principle which he saw as the basis of marital and political organization. Indeed, his discussions of the language of opposition never depart far from the institutional arrangements from which he believed the categories derived.

Van Wouden was particularly concerned with the prevalence of certain forms of diarchic political organization. In the chapter "Myth and Social Structure in the Timorese Archipelago," he discussed a set of Timorese myths as political charters, narrative reflections of a general and widespread system that operated on the complementary opposition of secular power and ritual authority. He interpreted the myths as symbolic statements of this relation. While variations are encountered in the different societies and any one society may be found to oper-

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ate two overlapping models, a general, invariant scheme of oppositions emerged.

In what van Wouden called the "social dualism" of the individual petty kingdoms, the principal ruler is associated with a female, elder, passive ritual authority and opposed to the male, younger, active real power of the political functionaries. Operating within a kingdom he saw a parallel classification which he called "local dualism." Here, his key terms were cosmological rather than sexual: an earth-linked, internal defensive power opposed to a heavenly, external political force. These oppositions were always relative and dependent on the level in question. Moreover, they tended to interpenetrate: the cosmological opposition of heaven and earth often took on a sexual significance.

Van Wouden's division into social and local dualism was arbitrary in the end, yet it derived from the actual complexity of the classificatory grid. He had perceived a crucial aspect of the system: the flexibility of the dual model. The hierarchic orderings isolated in the analysis of myth and social structure are contextual, reversible rankings rather than rigid typologies of power configurations. They are related ways of talking about a range of institutional arrangements, all deriving from a single, pervasive multilevel code.

This paper is directed toward an exploration of the complexity of dyadic categorizations among the Mambai of east Timor. Beginning with van Wouden's realization of the pervasiveness of the dual model, I wish to move in something of a reverse direction. Rather than orienting discussion around institutional arrangements, I concentrate on the *language of opposition* in its religious context. The diarchic principle in political ideology will be approached in its religious context, not as a basis for religious symbolism, but rather as one expression of the necessary complementary relation of two opposites. This conception of totality as a complementary union is articulated through a set of symbolic oppositions wherein certain pairs, such as heaven/earth, male/female, hot/cold, function as primary operators. My interest is in the systematic relations of such pairs within the larger framework of a religious metaphysics that confronts life and death. My intention then is to investigate the language of Mambai religion and to try to communicate something of the atmosphere which surrounds religious utterances.¹ The paper is organized around the complementary opposition of two categories of ritual action, the "white" (*buti*) and the "black" (*meta*).

My aim, however, is not a detailed description of any one particular ritual sequence, but rather to provide an outline of the total system by considering the set of ideas which underlie all ritual performances.

The Mambai are an ethnolinguistic group numbering over 80,000 who inhabit the mountains and valleys of central east Timor. The Mambai zone ranges from near the northern to the southern coast and borders on Tocado and Tetun, respectively. Dili, the coastal capital of this former Portuguese colony was once a Mambai area, though at present its ethnically mixed population speaks the near creole of Tetun and Portuguese which serves as a lingua franca throughout the eastern half of the island.

Mambai belongs to the Austronesian language family and is closely related to both Kemak and Tetun, spoken by the neighboring peoples to the west, south, and east. There are at least four main dialects of Mambai, all mutually intelligible both in fact and in native estimation. Each is associated with the four *concelho*, or administrative districts—Aileu, Ermera, Ainaro, and Same. The *concelho* of Aileu, the place where I conducted most of my fieldwork, lies roughly at the center of the Mambai zone.

The Mambai have a marked reputation among both their Tetun-speaking neighbors and the coastal peoples, especially the more "cosmopolitan" residents of the capital. They are commonly reported to be the most backward (*atrasado*) and primitive of the Timorese peoples. They are stereotypically described as a group of ignorant, taciturn, withdrawn highland hillbillies. In Tetun, they are referred to as *kaladi*. Although the etymology of this word is uncertain, it carries decidedly derogatory connotations and is often used in a semijesting way to impute stupidity.²

At the same time, a certain sense of awe and mystery surrounds the mountain peoples. When it was learned in Dili that I intended to conduct my studies in the Mambai area, the choice was approved because of my avowed interest in the primitive and traditional elements of Timorese societies. However, the choice also aroused considerable skepticism, and I was told repeatedly that the Mambai are a secretive, distrustful, suspicious people who guard their beliefs and customs far more tightly than do the other ethnic groups.³

At the altar of Hohul, a priest (*kuka*) arranges baskets of cooked meat for a white ritual offering. (Copyright © 1980 by Elizabeth Traube)



The Mambai are also one of the poorest of the Timorese peoples—a condition which contributes, in part, to their negative image. Coffee production is centered in Ermera but extends on a smaller scale into the Aileu area. In both of these *concelhos* individual holdings of tiny coffee plantations constitute the major source of cash income. However, the economy remains primarily a subsistence one, based on swidden cultivation of maize, rice, sweet potatoes, root crops, and beans. In Aileu, a small number of irrigated paddy fields are centered about the *vila*, or administrative center.⁴ Vegetables (spinach greens, lettuce, tomatoes, cucumbers, peas, cabbage, turnips, carrots) are grown in small quantities and sold, along with various fruits, either in the weekly town market or in Dili. All gardens and fields are individually held, though a group of brothers often work their neighboring plots jointly.

The Mambai live in highly dispersed hamlets, ranging from one to five houses. There is nothing resembling a centralized village, though associations of hamlets called *pobsan* (from the Portuguese *povoação*) are recognized and united under one headman (*Ulun*).⁵ Administratively, the *pobsan* are grouped into a number of *suku*, or districts, each headed by a functionary addressed as Koronel (or *Liurai* in Tetun). The *suku* division is essentially a European-imposed organization; it was not part of the traditional system.⁶

The hamlet clusters themselves unite only for ritual or administrative purposes. Normal residence remains highly scattered. Each house (*fada*) is a localized patrilineage of two or three generations in depth, consisting of a man, his sons and grandchildren, and their wives. Residence is thus ideally patrilocal, though often a man settles with his wife's kin and pays little or no bridewealth. Polygyny is common, and the wives, who often live in separate huts, tend their own gardens.

On this dispersed territorial pattern is superimposed a unifying ceremonial organization, which went largely unrecognized by the colonial administration. The Mambai are divided into a large number of *lisa*, or "cult groups" which are defined by a set of ritual prohibitions and privileges based on myths of ancestral origins. Cult affiliation is transmitted patrilineally, and a woman enters her husband's cult at marriage. Members of a cult share a common cult house (*fad lisa*) where sacred objects (*saun lulin*) are stored and which serves as a locus for ceremonial activity. Thus, although the members of a cult group live scattered about, tending their gardens, they unite at the cult house for the

performance of mortuary rites and the ceremonies of the yearly agricultural cycle.

Cult organization is segmentary, operating on two differentiated levels. Each individual belongs to a "great cult" (*lisa tu*). Its cult house, known as the "mother and father" (*inan nor aman*) or the "stem house" (*fada ni fun*) is most commonly situated on a remote hilltop. House and location together are referred to as the "house and homestead" (*fada nor ria*). Frequently, several of these great houses share one site, thus forming a cluster of houses in an arrangement that I call a cult center.

Seen from the outside, these truly majestic, isolated knolls look like dense, circular groves of trees. The ceremonial entrance is through the eastern gate (*damata lelo sain*) that leads into a tree-ringed circle. Huge cult houses are arranged in this circle around a round stone altar (*boska*), in the center of which stands a three-pronged ritual post (*ai tosa*). Located at various points about the altar are the sacred rocks and trees of the particular center.

The great houses of each center are traced back to a founding, mythical ancestor. A set of ancestral traditions (*tata*) details the branching relations between both houses and centers, and serves as a charter for the hierarchical ranking of the cults. In one recurrent pattern, a youngest son or brother "plucks a leaf/breaks a branch" (*buis noran/fo otan*) from the ancestral house, picks up a rock and a sacred object or two, and sets out to build his own house. The new house becomes the "child" (*anan*) or "twig" (*snikin*) of the "old mother/old father" (*ina mai/ama mai*) stem house. Alternatively, the relation is expressed as "elder brother/younger brother" (*kaka nor ali*).⁷

The mythic process of cult segmentation continues into the present. Any individual who has struck out in search of "field and palm/areca and betel" (*nama nor naua/bua nor maula*) may, if he wishes, set up a "small cult" (*lisa loba*) for himself and his agnatic kinsmen. This entails simply building a new cult house and equipping it with "rock and tree."⁸ The new cult may retain the name of its parent or it may adopt a new name. But with the exception of rice ritual, conducted in the fields by the individual owners, and small ceremonies associated with local sacred spots, all major ceremonial undertakings ideally take place at the great house. In theory, the widely scattered children of a great house should unite at their "source" (*fun*) for the final stages of a mortuary ceremony, for the crucial stages of the

yearly agricultural cycle, and for the periodic rebuilding of the great house.⁹

Cult membership orders marital as well as ceremonial status. The members of a great cult are all "elder/younger siblings" (*kak-alin*) and form an exogamous unit. In a triadic categorization, each cult is related to a set of different cults either as siblings, as wife-takers (*maen heua*: "new man"—the kin term for DH, ZC), or as wife givers (*umaena*, a metathesized form of the Tetun *umane*: "male house"—the kin term for WB). In the native model, marriage is regulated by these cult relations and ideally a man marries a woman from one of his wife-giving houses.¹⁰ Both rule and terminology are prescriptive and asymmetric (Needham, 1973a), and there is a marked preference for marriage with the genealogical MBD (*nai ana hinan*).¹¹ In theory, both great and small cults should follow the same marital "path" (*hin dan/maen dan*: "woman path/man path"). But in practice, marriages tend to be determined by the small local cults, and they do not always accord with the proper affinal relations as established in great cult myths. Furthermore, it is common for sibling segments of a great cult to follow different marital paths, resulting in reverse affinal relationships.

In each Mambai area, hierarchically ranked political offices belong to certain great cults. Thus suku lords, their assistants, and village chiefs, as well as minor officers within the ceremonial system should be from specified houses.¹² A smaller number of great cults possess a ritual supremacy established in myth. Members of such cults are conceived of as the elder lords of the domain. As masters of ritual and custodians of sacred objects and lore, they are responsible for the fertility of the earth. The significance and prestige of their houses transcend the ancestral traditions and go back to cosmological origins.

In the *concelho* of Aileu, the two most important cult centers are the "brothers" Hohul and Raimaus. In the course of my fieldwork, I became intimately associated with these places. My two closest friends and teachers, Mau Ters Aman (Mau Bere) and Kai Seu Aman (Mau Balen) came from Hohul and Raimaus, respectively; and I spent many months observing the baroquely elaborate rituals performed in these two ancient cult centers. The rest of this paper consists, in essence, of a fragment of their story.

In the Mambai ceremonial system, all major ritual events are performed in a mode known as *keo*. In its most limited sense, "keo" means simply to beat the sacred drums and gongs in a

ceremonial context. In this narrow interpretation, keo is opposed to *beha*, a less costly, "silent" (*smera*) ritual mode performed without drum or gong.¹³

In its widest significance, however, keo involves not simply a mode of ritual action, but a ritual attitude. As a constant stance taken before an apparently diverse range of objects, keo provides both a technique of marking or stressing their significance and a statement of their unity, their shared sacredness. For if keo is an attitude or a statement, it is in the end directed not to the panoply of external objects, but rather to that which is the essence of them all, their common source. Long before I could understand this, Mau Balen used to tell me repeatedly: "We keo a corpse. But this corpse is worthless. We keo a corpse, we keo grass and tree, we keo water, rice, fields, houses. In this we keo at once the body of God. We keo Our Mother and Our Father. This is what we keo."

Mambai religion is shrouded in ornate, baroque mystery. What underlies any one ritual performance is never directly stated. The endless spiraling words of a ritual chant are intended to veil, not to reveal. All chants end abruptly at Nama Rau, the "mountain of origins." The chanter's voice sinks to a whisper, and the lines "Gives birth to the mother and father of grass and tree" fade off into a soft "ho, ho, ho." That which is of the essence must never be said for "the West to see next/the East to know afterward" (*Lelo Dun oid eot rit/Lelo Sain oid tad tom*).

Everything is hidden, either beneath the earth, so that a visitor sees only the rock and the tree; or beneath the words, so that he hears only the stark statement of holiness. Yet the root of words, the root of rocks and trees, the root of women and men, the common source to which all individual roots are tethered—this is for the silences.

But keo is there for everyone who wishes to see and to do. There was never the slightest objection to my presence at even the most ritually charged moments of a keo ceremony.¹⁴ And indeed, the elders might well assume that I would penetrate no mysteries through mere observation of the ritual *comedia*, as they call it.

In ritual language, keo most commonly pairs with *noir* ("to teach" or "to show"). The pairing suggests the relationship between ritual and doctrine in its peculiarly Mambai form. The elaborate ceremonies of the keo do teach, but not directly. They carry a message, but it resides beneath the words and actions. It is something to be sought in or through the ceremonies, not

something readily imparted by them. This opacity of ritual action is expressed in a common chant refrain:

<i>Au sbein dore</i>	My brow is soft
<i>Au fusan lara.</i>	My navel is bloody.
<i>Mira her au sbein</i>	There is oil on my brow
<i>Lara her au matan.</i>	There is blood over my eyes.
<i>Au kikan hi benu</i>	My ears are still full
<i>Au ulun hi tema.</i>	My head is still whole.
<i>Au kok nor kukun</i>	I show with the mouth
<i>Au tbar nor matan.</i>	I reveal with the eyes.

The initial metaphor here is that of the chanter¹⁵ as a child, a newborn babe. "Full ears/whole head" signify his ignorance, a theme that pervades the chanting. Over and over, the priests portray themselves as fools and babes, blindly "following along the footprints/pulling the grass track" (*tuir ni oe haita/dad ni kneora*) of the vanished ancestors, mouthing the received, uncomprehended words. But the final lines of the refrain refer to a facial expression, a silent communication exchanged between the elders. What this look expresses is "I too *know*, but I will not say." For the Mambai, true knowledge resides in the stomach. What issues from the mouth are but lies, half-truths, and hints, to be received and interpreted by those who also know.

Such attitudes toward knowledge and its communication did not simplify my task, which was essentially to reach beneath the outward trappings of ritual and learn what it is that they *keo* and why.¹⁶ These questions gradually led me deeper and deeper into a complex set of ideas, a myth-based metaphysic that underlies all forms of ritual action. The two categories of ritual, the white and the black, draw on this unifying metaphysic; white and black appear in a complementary relationship, as expressed in a ritual language formula:

<i>Keo buti nor meta.</i>	Keo the white and the black.
<i>Keo buti ba rat</i>	Keo the white is not enough
<i>Nor meta fe tlut.</i>	Join it with the black.
<i>Keo meta ba natou</i>	Keo the black is not sufficient
<i>Nor buti fe naur.</i>	Increase it with the white.

I was first confronted with white and black very early in my investigations. The terms, as I discovered by chance, classify ritual into two categories. Not suprisingly, mortuary ceremonies are classified as black, while the yearly cycle of fertility rituals

are white. Even when I knew little more than this ritual-based opposition, it was apparent that certain broad concepts of proper order were involved. Viewed in terms of their dramatic schema, the rituals themselves hinted at a complementarity of white and black. Black ritual deals with death. Its explicit purpose is to convoke the living to bestow gifts on the dead and send them away on a voyage to the mountain and the sea. White ritual deals with life and fertility. And in the central ceremony of the yearly white cycle, the souls of the dead return from the sea to bestow on the living wealth, luck, and plenty—the blessings of life. The two schema involve reverse passages and flows of prestation. Together, they suggest that the living and the dead are linked in a system of reciprocal exchange.

What seemed to be involved, then, was some form of conceptual integration of life and death, embodied in the complementarity of two ritual categories. Analytically, one immediate implication was that an interpretation of ritual action demanded the consideration of each ceremony as an element within a larger, unified system and not as a discrete, bounded domain.

This was only a beginning, though it did decisively orient my investigations. I still had to explore the spiraling significations of the white and the black and locate them as primary terms within an elaborate language of symbolic oppositions that orders and integrates diverse realms of experience. Initially, I may have thought of white and black as static terms, linked solely to categories of ritual action. The range of their meaning soon became apparent, however, and with this realization, I had to expand the somewhat simplistic ritual model that I had been using.

In each major cult center, one house is identified as the “house of the white” (*fad buti nin*); it is the house of “Our Father, Heaven” (*It Aman, Leola*) and is also called the “sacred house” (*fad lulin*), the “big house” (*fad tun*), and the “God house” (*fad Maromak*). It is the male house of pure sacredness and pure power, the house untouched by the stench of death and decay.¹⁷

Opposed to it stands the “house of the black” (*fad meta nin*). This is the house of “Our Mother, Earth” (*It Inan, Raia*). It is known as the “house of the inner night/inner black” (*fad hodalalan/meta-lalan*), the “dark and black” (*muda nor meta*), the “old house” (*fad main*), and the “house of women and men/pigs and dogs” (*fad hina nor maena/haiha nor ausa nin*). It is the female house of birth and fertility, the breeding place of humans and animals. But it is also the house of death, where corpses are

laid out. According to the fragment of myth allotted me early on, it was built to prevent the stench of death and decay from penetrating Our Father's white house.

This was something more than my primitive white/black model could handle. Although black was still opposed to white, it was immediately linked, not only with death and decay, but with birth and fertility as well. Some parallel seemed apparent in the concept of the returning souls as bringers of life. Yet the idea of the black house suggested an inherent duality that transcended an exchange. In fact, white and black as well as life and death appeared to be two aspects of the Mother, and it is this conception of the Earth Mother that underlies the seemingly paradoxical set of ideas that cluster about her house.

These ideas are grounded in narrative, the most essential and the most closely guarded of all Mambai myths. In its entirety, it articulates a coherent cosmology wherein all creation is ordered and expressed in an idiom of physiological conception. The story deals with the origin of all things: the earth, the heavens, the mountains, the waters, rocks, trees, grass, animals, men, foodstuffs. It is *one* story, as in a sense is all Mambai mythology, with the latter-day exploits of the ancestors seen as a "daylight" (*namada*) continuation or as the "branches" (*otan*) of the tale whose "roots" (*ramun*) lie in the "inner night/inner black" of the original creation. Here, I discuss only a fragment of the myth.

In the inner night/inner black, Our Mother gives birth to Nama Rau, the sacred mountain of the southern interior.¹⁸ Sitting atop her firstborn, her back to the south and her feet stretching down to the north, she gives birth to a ring of smaller peaks. She then bears the rocks, the trees, the grass and—much later—the first people. But outside the little circle of peaks, all else remains "inner water/inner sea" (*er-lalan/tais-lalan*), the fluid from the births (*afi eran*).

At last, weary of the wind and the cold, Our Mother descends the northern slope of Nama Rau to Ur Bou, where she falls ill:

<i>Era kauk It Inan</i>	The water shakes Our Mother
<i>Nama bis It Inan.</i>	A chill takes Our Mother.
<i>Ua maet ni Ur Bou</i>	She dies in Ur Bou
<i>Ua flair ni Ai Datu.</i>	She flees in Ai Datu.

She is buried there and lies for seven days and seven nights but:

<i>Usi ba broe</i>	The urn is not rotten
<i>Bia ba dome</i>	The vase is not decayed
<i>Litan ba kdout</i>	The skin is not broken
<i>Ruin ba fo</i>	The bone is not split
<i>Kukun hi kase</i>	The mouth still speaks
<i>Laman hi kdere.</i>	The tongue still articulates.

Though she has died, her body remains whole and does not decompose. Here in Ur Bou, her speaking corpse instructs Heaven (her husband) and her children in the forms of black ritual, the *keo*.

The following episode varies from one telling to another, principally in the number of players. In the starkest (and final) telling, there is only Our Mother, Our Father (whose talking heart shows the way from beneath the ground and whose breastplate (*fila*) hovers above to smooth the earth), and two of the firstborn mountain peaks who travel in front. There are no bearers. The living corpse drags herself along in a squatting position (*kdas*), supporting herself with her hands.

But all tellings detail the same, slow northward journey. They halt again and again to bury the body, with the head to the south, the feet to the north, and the two arms stretched out to east and west. Each time Our Mother lays down her head and stretches her legs beneath the ground (*teik ulun/fod oen*), the movement causes the earth to tumble down along her limbs and body, out to the four quarters. Thus the tiny, balled-up mass of dry land grows slowly wider. But still her body refuses to decay and, after seven days and seven nights, the journey continues.

Not far from Raimaus, the first maggots hatch in the still whole flesh. When they arrive in Raimaus, Our Mother is buried once more. As before, she lays down her head to the south, spreads her arms to east and west, and stretches her legs out to the north. This time, the earth tumbles down with her legs to the tame, "female" sea (*tais hinan*) of the north, calmed by the pressure of her feet;¹⁹ the land races out along her arms to the eastern and western extremities of the island; and her head pushes the land back beyond Nama Rau to the wild, "male" sea (*tais manen*) of the south.

Our Mother's death position, a supine repetition of her posture for the birth of Nama Rau, determines the orientation of the land. The ordering of directional coordinates is based on the position of the Earth Mother so that both the four quarters of the

cosmos and the structure of a cult house are conceived of as replications of her body. Yet in true Mambai style, ritual language articulates another, false paradigm (*fiadas*). In formal speech, east is called the "head of the earth" (*rai ulun*), west is the "foot of the earth" (*rai oen*) or the "tail of the earth" (*rai ion*); south and north may be indicated as "right" (*hanan*) and "left" (*toen*). But there is no true model for this orientation, it rests solely on words which are meant to deceive.²⁰ Mambai do not speak of the birth position of the Mother, nor describe how she lies in death.

Raimaus, Our Mother's final resting place, is the center of the newly ordered cosmos. The "navel of the world," the cult center sits directly above the navel of the buried Mother, into whom grow the roots of Tai Talo, the sacred banyan. When Our Mother laid down her head, she split Raimaus itself in two, and one half was carried south to become Hohul, which straddles the head of the corpse.²¹

Once buried in Raimaus, the navel of the newly molded earth, Our Mother's flesh finally decomposes—but not completely. Half of her—her outer, or upper, half—rots and becomes the "dead half/black half" (*baiseri maten/baiseri metan*). Her inner, or lower, half is untouched and becomes the "live half/white half" (*baiseri morin/baiseri butin*). This undecayed interior enters the pure white waters of the underground, the "white wetness/oozing earth" (*tit buita/rai rin*), the milk into which all things anchor their roots to nurse.

The external, decayed flesh is incorporated into the "black earth" (*rai metan*). This black topsoil was explained to me in various ways, but always in association with fertility and increase; the common theme is that nothing could thrive or flourish without the black earth of decay and death. Once, the black earth was described as the "food" (*saunmuan*) of the cultivated plants. In a more complicated conception, the foodstuffs themselves originate from the maggots of the Earth Mother's rotten flesh. In yet another explanation, a portrayal that accords well with a wider idiom, the black earth is the protective dirt, the outer garments that cloak, shroud, and shelter the buried white milk. In this imagery, black earth is similar to Tai Talo, the sacred banyan planted over the Earth Mother's grave to shade, shelter, and conceal. The majestic banyan preserves the mystery itself, so that the secret may not be discovered by the East and the West. The black earth preserves the life-giving white essence, so that the Earth Mother's milk may not be sucked dry by her many nursing children.

Two enigmatic lines of the ritual chanting isolate this mysterious, shrouded aspect of the white and the black:

Iru butin, rai buti suan White chest, white lower earth
Iru metan, rai meta teten. Black chest, black upper earth.

This bare, terse formula embodies basic themes of Mambai religion in its very starkness. The essential final truths are not discussed in detail, especially not in public. They are stated only obliquely, for the black earth hides the white waters, as a tree hides a corpse and as the words of the priests hide the truth. Those who know understand, as they also understand what underlies another enigmatic formula, repeatedly chanted in an outward avowal of ignorance:

Au fe si fu I look down only at the trunk
Au ktar si lau. I look up only at the peak.

The "trunk" and "peak" are the base and branches of Tai Talo, the silent witness of holiness, the elder tree of "women and men" (*hina nor maena*).²² For its roots grow down, with all roots, into the body of the Mother who lies somewhere beneath it, and its branches rise up, with all branches, to the Father who hovers somewhere above it.²³

The duality of the Mother, the mystery beneath Tai Talo, is expressed in terms of white and black: white chest and black chest, white earth and black earth, white milk and black decayed flesh. White is her hidden life-giving essence; black her death sacrifice. One model of the complementarity of white and black ritual refers to this image of the relationship. The first time my friends told me of the Earth Mother's death, they ended their narration with a near cry: *Aim keo, hoda ba tad, aba ba tad, tan la idua!* ("We keo knowing not the night, knowing not the day, because of this!")

The relationship between white and black thus transcends the reversible path of the souls of the dead. The life-bringing return of the spirits is but a daytime echo of a relationship that goes back, as does all Mambai ritual, to origins and nighttime. Black secures white, and death, in this system, is but the price of life. These ideas are articulated in a pervasive idiom of debt and exchange.

The black earth of Our Mother's decay preserves her everflowing white milk from which all things must nurse. White ritual is

directed toward the securing and enrichment of this milk, so that both plants and men may thrive. Plants, nursing directly from the earth-breast, and men, nursing again from the plants, renew each year the original debt established by Our Mother's death sacrifice. This debt must ultimately be repaid. Women and men, her youngest children, have but two currencies with which to do so.

In the climax of the ritual for the rebuilding of a cult house, a buffalo is sacrificed in a ceremony known as the "beating of the earth" (*rai boban*). The explicit end of the ceremony is to plant and anchor the "root" (*ramun*) of the house (that is, its center columns) by smoothing and beating down the earth. The house too must nurse from the cool, wet underground breast, thus maintaining its moistness and protecting it from destruction by fire. A pig is killed in conjunction with the buffalo and dedicated to the "white chest" of the underground milk. The flesh of the buffalo, on the other hand, belongs to the black earth into which it will decay. In Hohul, the analogy is carried to its extreme. While half of the buffalo is eaten at once, together with the pig, as "milk" (*susun*), the other half of the carcass is left to rot on the altar for seven days and seven nights.

There is a saying which the old men mutter in the chants:

<i>Hulu ba rat</i>	When the hairy ones are not enough
<i>Nor mrea fe tlut.</i>	Join them with the hairless ones.
<i>Mrea ba natou</i>	When the hairless ones are not sufficient
<i>Nor hulu fe naur.</i>	Increase them with the hairy ones.

The "hairy ones" are the sacrificial beasts offered in white ritual, and humans are the "hairless ones." The animals slaughtered in the ceremonies are, in a sense, an initial payment that buys time. Woven through the chanting, a host of metaphors address Our Mother in her darker aspect. She is implored to "squeeze her mouth" (*kum-li kukun*) and not to "go on swallowing women and men/pigs and dogs" (*be mod klak hina nor maena/haiha nor ausa*); or she is instructed to "smooth her cloth" (*met-li mala*) tightly around her, so that its "top will not be wide/hem will not be gaping" (*mal-ulu be mluu/mal-oe be beka*). She is begged to await that which is old and withered, dry and ugly, those who "sit on their behinds/press with their hands" (*nor feren kde des/nor miman teb-li*), as she did on her own

death journey. In other words, she is asked to claim only those who, having grown cold and dry, have entered into the sphere of death.

For it is at death that the hairless ones repay the debt, and the debt idiom pervades the mortuary ceremonies. Even as the living participants are "paying for the fatigue" (*seul kolen*) of the deceased parents through a complex set of affinal exchanges, the dead themselves are finalizing a different exchange, paying another debt to another mother. The ultimate prestation is the body, which at death is most explicitly fed back to the earth, which nourished it. Following the original flesh of the Earth Mother, all human flesh must rot into black earth, both as an exchange for the white milk enjoyed in life and as a guarantee of its continued abundance. Death is but one phase in a cycle of exchanges and it is, indeed, the price of life. Or, to quote a flat, yet eloquent statement of the relation: *Atuba ba maet, it mu safid? It mu it tein?* ("If people don't die, then what do we eat? Do we eat our own excrement?")

Within this cycle, one image associated with the death transaction is drawn from birth. As the corpse is dedicated to the earth, the "dark and black" (*muda nor meta*), it is instructed to lie still:

<i>Au inan oid rih</i>	For my Mother to warm
<i>Au aman oid knon.</i>	For my Father to toast.

This reference is to the birth ritual, during which the *cold* (*mlal*) newborn infant is slowly heated near a fire. But it should be clear by now that there is no paradox here. Rather, the pervasiveness and multivocality of certain images and the association of cold with both infants and old people—that is, both birth and death—indicate a symbolic equivalence of two points of transition and stress their integration into the life-cycle experience.

A similar message is conveyed in a simple, innocent-sounding ritual language formula:

<i>Hoit la</i>	Spoon it out there
<i>Hoit hail ma.</i>	Spoon it back here.
<i>Fa la</i>	Hand it out there
<i>Fa hail ma.</i>	Hand it back here.

At their most naive level (and for a long time the only level at which they were interpreted to me), these lines refer to the sequence of offerings and ritual meals. "Out there" refers to the

sacred offering stones on which the portion of rock and tree (*hauta nor aia*) must be placed; "back here" refers to the human meal that immediately follows the conclusion of the offerings. But beneath all this, the final reference is to Our Mother. It is she who spoons and hands food *out* to us throughout life. At death, we hand it *back* to her in the form of our earth-nourished flesh. Again, those who know understand.

In terms of the ideology underlying black ritual, the white and the black together with the figure of the Earth Mother make a statement of the complementarity of life and death. The significance of white and black is not, however, encompassed in a single investigation and the range of their symbolism is not exhausted by the milk/decay paradigm. The white/black idiom also expresses the relationship between man and woman; sexual complementarity is particularly evident in the ideology of white ritual. Whereas all mortuary ritual (the *keo* of the black) evokes the death of the Mother, all fertility ritual (the *keo* of the white) evokes her sexual union with the Father.

The figure of the Mother almost totally eclipses Heaven, the Father, in a discussion of black ritual. This is an orientation that recurs throughout the Mambai religious system, for woman as a ritual category indeed overshadows man. In terms of ritual *action*, women play a subordinate, passive role. Their place is on the sidelines. They are found in the cooking hut, where they prepare the ceremonial rice (men cook the meat in a separate area); at the edges of the altar, where they silently set up baskets of betel and areca or hand out bowls of rice; or at the periphery of a group of male chanters, where their task is to beat out the monotonous strains of *keo* on small drum (*bakaduda*) and gong (*dadir*). All chanting, offerings, and slaughterings are performed by men. Women are present to cook, to play, to dance, to receive.

Yet the symbolic system as a whole stresses the female. Such emphasis is not at variance with the passive female role in ritual performance. Both the Earth Mother and her daughters are conceived of as essentially static, still figures. Their place is within the house by the central hearth fires. Here, they cook, await their wandering men, and nurse and shelter their children. Individual houses may be male or female; but any general discussion of house structure always leads to the metaphor of the house as a woman—a mother who cradles, nourishes, and protects her children, shielding them from the burning white heat of the fiery, masculine sun. The portrait is one of the beneficial, cool, life-giving dark aspects of womanhood, in opposition to an-

other, fiercer form of whiteness: the pure power and attendant danger of heavenly heat.

Heaven, Our Father, is a roamer—as are his present-day sons. His chief function in the myths is to be absent, reappearing only sporadically for tense, fearful confrontations with his orphaned children. Long before I had mastered any of the specific content, I was made aware of this pervasive form of the male/female relationship: that Our Mother is somehow near us, close to us, inside the house: but Our Father is lost, distant, wandering somewhere:

<i>Her hohon nor ehan</i>	On the outside and the edge
<i>Leola oid fair</i>	For the sun to scorch
<i>Keula oid hir.</i>	For the wind to whip. ²⁴

Even if he has passed beyond our ken, he has not forsaken us. His task is to observe, patrol, and oversee. The globe of the sun is his eye and the wind is his messenger, and he traverses the world in a day. At night, when we are asleep, he descends to lie with Our Mother.

Viewed alone, as the incarnation of pure maleness, Father Heaven is hot, fiery, dangerous, and unapproachable. His relationship with the Earth Mother pervades the symbolism of political institutions. The elder guardians of Hohul and Raimaus are linked with a ritual authority over the earth that is opposed to the secular power wielded by the lords of Aileu and Motain, the “children of the sun/children of the star” (*leol anan/hiut anan*). In the language of opposition, Hohul and Raimaus are associated with blackness and decay, slowness, passivity, and the inside. These are all “female” attributes and, in contrast to the rulers, Hohul and Raimaus are women. They sit at the navel land in refuse and dust (*saun lun/rai fafon*), dressed in old, tattered clothes, to “watch over the rock/look after the tree” (*deiki hauta/bale aia*). The secular lords are conceived of as younger and male. They are associated with Heaven, the white light of rule, fleetness, activity, the outside, and the sea. Constantly on the move, they are the ones who “go down to the sea/ascend to the interior” (*du ni taisai/sai ni hoha*). They are the all-informed “dog-nosed/bird-eyed” (*inun ausa/matan mauna*) masters of law.

While this model, with its dyadic distribution of power and authority, associates heavenly whiteness and light with temporal power and rule, it is by no means an exclusive model. To

view Heaven as totally divorced from the life-giving concerns of ritual is to distort seriously the total system that operates, as van Wouden perceived, not on one rigid, static model, but on several overlapping ones. Any interpretation of terms and the qualities ascribed to them depends on their context.

Thus, the political model selects certain primary qualities of Heaven: the white brilliance and the heat of the daylight. These are associated with law and opposed to the cold blackness of the primeval nighttime creation. This opposition of law to creation represents only one configuration of the white/black relationship, which I have described as a balance between life and death. Yet these relations interpenetrate. If Heaven is primarily a law-giver and law-maintainer, law itself is polarized, and the first law of the nighttime, the "ban" (*badun*), divides life and death (*ket morin nor maten*). Moreover, Heaven first appears in the mythic nighttime to establish the primeval, creative union with the Earth Mother.

In a sense, the definitions of heavenly whiteness shift as the mythic chronology progresses from the creation to the coming of law. These multiple aspects are frozen, as it were, and timelessly represented in the organization of cult houses in the great centers. Although the secular lords are associated with Heaven and subsumed with him into a paradigm of the active, wandering, powerful male, they have no association with the white, sacred house of the Father. Rather, in most cult centers there is a third house known variously as the "house of the rule and the ban" (*fad ukun nor badun nin*), the "little house" (*fad loban*), and the "house of the beaming moon/the shining day" (*fad hula tbiar/nama ada*). This is always a male house and is the cult house of the local rulers. It is consistently opposed to the Mother's house, as law ("the rule and the ban") is opposed to fertility ("women and men/pigs and dogs"). The contrast is commonly elaborated in the imagery of light opposed to darkness and white opposed to black.

This relationship is grounded in myth in which the opposition appears as a chronological sequence. The primeval, creative nighttime ends only after the Mother's death. The smoke of the first cooking fire stings Heaven's eye, which flies from the socket and becomes the globe of the sun. The first undertaking of the new, daylight regime is the quest for a secular law to complement the elder, ritual ban imposed by Heaven on rock and tree.²⁵

This sketch can only suggest the multiple aspects of Heaven. The secular rulers are linked with Heaven's daylight aspect of

power and control. The elders of Hohul and Raimaus are linked with the nighttime, creative aspect of both Heaven and Earth. Their custodianship of Heaven involves the guardianship of the white house of pure sacredness and the elder, ritual, Heaven-derived ban (badun). However, their relationships to Heaven and Earth are not identical. The Mother is close by, to be hidden, sheltered, and fed in death. But for the Father, they can only wait, call, and search. As his "orphans and lost ones" (*hunan nor lakon*), they patiently "follow the footprints/trace the grass track" (*tuir ni oe haita/dad ni kneora*) of the vanished Lord. Their sole direct obligation to Heaven is to reestablish his contact and sexual union with the Earth Mother. This is the basic premise of all white ritual. It is a life-giving concern and the essence of keo.

We, the youngest children with the "speaking mouths/articulating tongues" (*kuku kasen/lama kderen*) have a debt to pay. In death, we pay it with our bodies, consecrated to the black earth. In life, we pay it with keo. The noise of drum and gong and chanting—indeed the entire spectacle of a ritual performance—is the means by which we:

<i>Knur au in ni ulun</i>	Wake my Mother's head
<i>He au aman ni oen</i>	Tug my Father's foot
<i>Kikan oid mrue</i>	For the ears to be clear
<i>Matan oid ada</i>	For the eyes to be shining
<i>Au inan oid teik-li ni au aman</i>	For my Mother to lie down in my Father
<i>Au aman oid teik-li ni au inan</i>	For my Father to lie down in my Mother
<i>Bitu oid bubu</i>	For the mat to swell
<i>Saka oid ri.</i>	For the bed to ooze.

With keo, we call them to lie down together, thus securing the yearly renewal of whiteness and life.

These ideas are anchored in the linked paradigms of human and plant reproduction. In the yearly cycle of white ritual, the stages of plant growth are associated with the stages of human life-cycle passage. One idiom expresses the birth and growth of man and plant, and one keo secures life-giving milk for both. Long before I had any grasp of these reproductive paradigms, I was continually confronted with one mystifying yet clearly significant statement: *Usa sai ni raia, ba ma dar leola id* ("The rain arises in the earth, it does not come from the sky").

Much later, this statement was explained to me in terms of a

cycle. The white, underground milk flows down to the sea where the children of the "inner water/inner sea" (*er-lalan/tais-lalan*) nurse on it. These sea creatures are the transformed souls of the dead, returned to the watery world of the first creation, the remnants of the original birth fluid. The milk rises with the steam of their breath. As fog and mist, it billows up through the branches of Tai Talo where it is received by two cloud-frolicking birds (*maun ura/kakeora*) who bear it on their backs to Our Father. He pours it back down "like a sprinkler" (*man rekador*) as the heavenly rain. Rain, I was told, is nothing more than the returning of earth-milk.

For some time I kept expecting (and indeed urging) people to identify rain as the Father's semen. Yet, no matter how pointedly I put my questions, they stubbornly continued to identify it as milk. What was needed was an explicit association of rain with human procreation and a unitary explanation of both processes (creation and procreation) in terms of the complete cycle. Without this the male function remained shadowy and ill defined. Just as heavenly rain was "milk," so the masculine contribution to procreation was consistently glossed over in favor of the life-giving mother's milk. Finally my friends realized the extent of my ignorance, and gently pointed out that a woman's milk does not flow until she has lain with a man.²⁶

I had been missing one step, a crucial link. A man's "white blood" (*lar butin*), or semen, is transformed into a woman's milk after sexual intercourse. The heavenly milk-rain is semen, but it is just as much "milk to be" or "milk in becoming." It is "milk that once was," for a man's semen ultimately derives from his mother's milk—the milk that he sucked from his biological mother's breast *and* the milky liquid of the plants from the Earth Mother that he nursed through life. Thus, in the seasonal paradigm, the rain originates in the underground milk. The rain itself is a pure transition, effected by the souls of the dead. And man (that is, the Father) is but the active catalyst: he receives, transforms, and returns to the source—to woman.

The final purpose of white ritual is to assure this continued cosmic collaboration. The chants repetitively beseech all manner of wealth and plenty, but this is merely *fiadas*, a "ruse." There is only one gift and that is rain, which nourishes all life. The plants nurse from it, and people nurse from the plants; and when their stomachs are full, men and women feel desire and lie down together to create new people and new milk. Food is the essential element in human fertility. To phrase this bluntly, as the Mambai often do: "When their stomachs are hungry, women

and men don't want one another" (*Ro bain beili, hina nor maena ba karak ro*). Human sexuality and reproduction depend directly on plant fertility. Both depend ultimately on the sexual union of Heaven and Earth with its life-giving exchange of white essences. To assure this union is the driving concern of keo. And so, to keo trees and grass, water, fields, rice, maize, women, men is to keo the body of God, to keo Our Mother and Our Father.

The white and the black are not rigidly separable, however. Like the two modes of keo, they are complements. Investigations overlap but always point toward the total system. The opposed ritual objects—the white milk of the white keo and the black earth of the black keo—are elements in one metaphysical cycle. White and black together can be approached as dialectical stages of this cycle. To this end, I shall discuss, albeit briefly and incompletely, one ritual which combines ideas of white and black into a stately procession from death into life.

This is the ceremony for the rebuilding of a cult house. In its entirety, the rebuilding ritual forms an extremely intricate symbolic complex. Although generally classified as white ritual because it is primarily concerned with renewal and with the living, it nevertheless constitutes a problematic category for the natives as well as for the analyst. In fact, it is sometimes described as "just white enough" (*buti natou*).

The cult house ceremony overlaps or intersects with black ritual at numerous points, for instance, at the dedication of the buffalo to the black earth. I have chosen one sequence from the whole ensemble: the passage of grass and tree from death to new life. A metaphoric statement of human experience, this passage offers a paradigmatic instance of the dialectical relationship between the white and the black.

The cult house ceremony begins with two deaths. It is occasioned by the symbolic death of the old house, which is said to have grown old, black, dirty, shabby, ugly, and withered, exactly like an old person who has entered the sphere of death. The ceremonial proceedings are initiated by the ritual killing of trees, grass, and bamboo for the construction of the new house. These plants must die so that men can build houses with their corpses. In myth, this hierarchical relation between man and his elder brothers is established in the ban (*badun*), the elder law under which Heaven silenced rocks and trees so that they would not scream when men struck them. Now, men repay their silent suffering with keo.

In ritual, the mythic theme generates an elaborate set of rules,

restrictions, and etiquette for the chopping of wood and the yanking of grass. A death service is performed over the fallen plants in the bush. They are laid out like a corpse in human mortuary services with their heads (branches) to the east and their feet (trunks) to the west. They bid good-bye to their parent trees, cautioning them not to grieve. Next, the plants are borne into the village in a noisy, gay, rowdy procession. On their arrival, they are welcomed and received with betel and areca, refreshments after their journey, and are adorned with cloths and ornaments.

When pressured, informants identify the precise moment of rebirth with the raising of the plants: the erecting of posts, the lifting of thatch grass to the rooftop. Yet it is clear from the scenario that the grass and trees have been moving throughout the ritual toward a new, altered life. Themes of death and maturation blend, and the adornment in the village is spoken of, not as shrouds (which it resembles), but as the frills and trinkets of the pretty youngster who is about to arise and live as a part of the completed house.

The imagery of this event is light and decorative, (almost playful, in fact), and informants laugh as they describe it. The dominant metaphor is the new house as a young, sexually mature woman with "black teeth/long hair" (*nifan metalulun dole*) who is decked out in clean clothes and new trinkets. A frivolity surrounds much of the transformation, and the chanting consists of gay, colorful images.

Human experience offers a direct parallel to this blended rebirth or rejuvenation of the house. Despite the ritual's many similarities to human mortuary rites, I do not think that there is a parallel between the two. In fact, the grass and trees make the reverse passage from that of the human corpse, for they proceed gaily into the village, from which the dead are banned. But the notion of a young, pretty house that replaces an old, ugly one relates directly to one Mambai conception of the life/death cycle. Human beings are considered dead when they grow old and dry; they are said to live again in the "long noses/plump cheeks" (*inu letelfau sabi*) of their children. This conception of rebirth by replacement is expressed in a formula:

<i>Moir hait ru</i>	Live two times
<i>Maet hait ru.</i>	Die two times.

Children are seen as equivalent to their parents, just as the new house and the old one are, in a sense, the same house.

Another, more complex concept of the life/death cycle lies in the mysteries of the first creation. In contrast to the gay, semi-teasing idiom of the reception and the raising of wood and grass in the village, a stark solemnity surrounds the ritual in the bush during which the fallen plants are separated from their parents. It took me some time to realize that not only do the fallen ones set out on a journey but the parent trees also die at the passage of their children, which is a sign of their own age:

<i>Hin main, maen main</i>	Old women, old men
<i>Ulu be buita</i>	The hair that has whitened
<i>Nifa be moa</i>	The teeth that are falling

After the good-byes, the speech form changes. The melodic strains of *foder*, *luila*, and *slor* give way to a form known as *deder* ("to send away"). Similar to the *toli*, the service of dispatch at the human funeral, *deder* is spoken (muttered really) rather than sung. Like *toli*, it is one of the few chant forms that must keep closely to one prescribed path.

For the path is the path of origins. It is the journey south to Nama Rau, back through the lands where Our Mother was once buried as the earth tumbled down around her. The souls of men and of plants make this journey backward at death, returning to the cosmological source. Men arrive at Nama Rau and pass on westward and northward to the sea. They return to live again after a complex series of transmigrations. As sea creatures, their breath (*snukan*) floats up to the heavens, transmitting both the life-giving milk and their own soul-essence (*smakan*). This essence falls back to earth with the milk-rain, where it is imbibed by the nursing plants. A man or woman who eats the plants incorporates the soul-essence, now contained in the plants' milk. The soul thus returns to the realm of the living through a final metempsychosis. Sexual intercourse is necessary to "mould the body" (*lum etan*) and to transmit the essence, if it has been incorporated by a man. The child who is born is said to have "a face like his ancestor's" (*ahen man tata*), for:

<i>Isin maktali sois</i>	The flesh has turned about
<i>Era takali sois.</i>	The water has turned around.

A dialectical resolution has been reached, and death, borne on the white milk of procreation, has been returned as new life.

For the aged grass and trees, the road of death and rebirth is more direct, a recapitulation of their origins. Arrived at Nama

Rau, where our Mother gave birth to the original parents of grass and tree, the plants repeat once more their own genesis:

Hulun tui The hair snaps
Maran hdor. The fruit falls.

The new seeds tumble down, as the first seeds fell from the original couples.

The ritual system as a totality consists of a complementarity of white and black. What is effected in ritual is an exchange. Individual ceremonies of white or black are but moments in the total dialectic wherein the old, the withered, the black, the dead are returned to their common source. Here, they put aside their deadness and return as the white life that the priests tirelessly call down:

<i>Au kau si nam-isin</i>	I call only the flesh of the field
<i>Au kau si nau-eran</i>	I call only the water of the palm
<i>Au kau si sel-hulen</i>	I call only the sheath of the maize
<i>Au kau si sekar isin</i>	I call only the body of the potato
<i>Au kau si hin mor koden</i>	I call only the good bearing of women
<i>Nor maen mor koden</i>	And the good bearing of men
<i>Haïh mloi koden</i>	The good breeding of pigs
<i>Aus mloi koden</i>	The good breeding of dogs
<i>Au kau si bit bubun</i>	I call only the swelling of the mat
<i>Au kau si sak rin</i>	I call only the oozing of the bed
<i>Au keo si au inan</i>	I keo only my Mother
<i>Au noir si au aman.</i>	I teach only my Father.

Part Three

Eastern Indonesia
as a Field of
Ethnological
Study

15 The Concept of the Field of Ethnological Study

P. E. de Josselin de Jong

IN *Types of Social Structure in Eastern Indonesia*, van Wouden did not use the term "field of ethnological study" (*ethnologisch studieveld*) or any equivalent. Yet it is obvious that in 1935 he was guided by ideas of a comparative procedure very similar to those that led J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong to formulate the notion of fields of ethnological study in the same year. As Locher remarked in his preface to van Wouden's thesis, "Van Wouden [had been] working along the same lines and with the same background as his supervisor; . . . [yet] in a thesis, what is due to the supervisor and what to the pupil is frequently hard to make out, particularly when the student has for years attended the lectures given by the supervisor" (van Wouden, 1968, p. vii).

Besides noting that de Josselin de Jong (1935, 1977, p. 172) referred to van Wouden's thesis, I cannot now, forty years later, contribute anything to answer the question to what extent van Wouden's comparative research led de Josselin de Jong to recognize Indonesia as a field of ethnological study or whether van Wouden was stimulated by his supervisor's teaching to apply the field of ethnological study approach to eastern Indonesian societies. In the context of the present volume, however, it seems appropriate, while leaving that question unanswered, to consider what has been and what could have been achieved by applying this concept and to state some of the problems it raises.

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In 1935, anthropology was dominated by the standards of long, intensive fieldwork that had been established by Malinowski. The total immersion of the individual anthropologist in a single culture and the demand of functionalism that each individual culture be studied as a unique, closed system of interacting elements make clear that anthropology as a discipline faced a dilemma. It was being enriched by more detailed and more subtle single-culture descriptions and analyses than ever before. But what linked those studies, and what could each single study contribute to anthropology as a whole?

Recollecting de Josselin de Jong's lectures and seminars and the reading he required—admittedly some fifteen years later—I think it most likely that he had been particularly impressed by Radcliffe-Brown's (1930–31) series of articles on the social organization of Australian tribes, for they offered a way out of the impasse: "Australia, with its rapidly disappearing aboriginal population, is still among our finest 'fields of study' in this sense. Especially in the past decade, solutions to problems of far-reaching significance have been found there" (1977, p. 168). When de Josselin de Jong spoke these words in his inaugural address of 1935, he certainly had the *Oceania* article in mind. He defined "fields of ethnological study" as "certain areas of the earth's surface with a population whose culture appears to be sufficiently homogeneous and unique to form a separate object of ethnological study, and which at the same time apparently reveals sufficient local shades of differences to make internal comparative research worth while" (1977, p. 167–168). Then, emphasizing the elements that form its "structural core," namely asymmetric connubium, "socio-cosmic dualism," and a special kind of resilience in reacting to cultural influences from without, he provided an outline of Indonesia as a field of ethnological study.

The program set forth by J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong in 1935 was adopted by a large number of young anthropologists, to whom we owe a corpus of publications on Indonesian cultures. Most of these were studied singly, but in a comparative or, to use a more informative phrase, in a mutually interpretative context. The effort was, and still is, fruitful; it circumvented the twin dangers that threatened anthropology in the 1930s: the Scylla of disintegration into single-culture specialisms and the Charybdis of "random comparison" (see Lewis, 1956). However, adopting this approach entailed its own problems, which we still face.

The first is a problem of application rather than of principle. If the Malay Archipelago or Indonesia is the field of ethnological study, as it was defined in 1935, what are its boundaries? The area in which Indonesian languages are spoken can serve as a preliminary delimitation; but then the question arises whether it might be useful to extend the boundaries to include the area covered by the non-Indonesian Austronesian languages as well. Similar questions arise in regard to the Malagasy and Formosan outliers and the Austro-Asiatic language areas of continental Southeast Asia. The only way to answer these questions is by conducting experiments: Does a culture in one of these border territories become more comprehensible if it is studied as a part of the Indonesian field of ethnological study? I attempted such an analysis of data collected on the Mnong Gar of central Vietnam; the experiment, limited as it was, yielded a positive conclusion (see P. E. de Josselin de Jong, 1965). Condominas, the Mnong Gar specialist, agreed with me that the Indonesian and the Proto-Indochinese cultures appear to produce "local variants of the overall themes that are interspersed throughout the field of ethnological study" (1965, p. 293). On the other hand, I should note that Mabuchi (1960) found an analysis of the kinship organization of the Puyuma (speakers of an Austronesian language who live in southeastern Formosa) more profitable in an Oceanian than in an Indonesian context.

Some other questions, especially those concerning the field of ethnological study as a method, are much more difficult to answer satisfactorily. What data within the field of ethnological study should be selected? May they be gathered indiscriminately from all cultures of all historical periods? Is the comparing of the comparable the guiding principle for this "daisy picking," as it has been called? This set of procedural problems within the field of ethnological study is followed by the question of the external relations of this field. Does one simply move from the old dilemma of the unique single cultures to a new framework of unique, mutually incomparable fields of ethnological study? Both sets of questions, each in its own way, ask, What is the *purpose* of the field of ethnological study approach?

The advantage of studying any culture as a member of a field of ethnological study is that the culture under scrutiny and its field of ethnological study congeners become mutually interpretative. The Mnong Gar case may serve as an example. During the rice-harvest ritual, the jars of sacrificial rice-beer are treated as sacrificial buffalo. Despite the exceptional wealth of informa-

tion contained in Condominas's first book on this culture (1957), there is no explanation of the buffalo's function in the rice harvest and its connection, if any, with the jars of beer. For that reason, I turned to Indonesia to see if in that region, particularly in western Indonesia, we can find any specific connection between buffalo and rice (P. E. de Josselin de Jong, 1965, pp. 283, 284). And indeed there is. So, in this case, the Sundanese, the Malays, and the Ngaju help us to explain the Mnong Gar.

In this respect, the field of ethnological study approach is distinguished from what Lewis (1956) called random or global comparisons. These usually belong to either of the two main types discerned by Leach: the construction of a typology or "the perception of possible general laws in the circumstances of special cases" (1961a, p. 5). Douglas's *Purity and Danger* is an example of the second type. She formulates such a general law in the following way: "Where the social system is well-articulated, I look for articulate powers vested in the points of authority; where the social system is ill-articulated, I look for inarticulate powers vested in those who are a source of disorder" (Douglas, 1970, p. 120). This general law applies to the societies of the Lele, the Nyakyusa, the Maori, contemporary Britain and Canada, fifteenth-century France, and the Azande.

I am not suggesting that the field of ethnological study approach is in any way better or sounder than the global-comparisons approach, but it is useful to specify how the two differ. When the former is employed after a reasonable familiarity with a number of cultures within a field of ethnological study has been attained, the pattern that begins to emerge can be used to interpret elements in a particular culture that are not quite comprehensible and do not make sense when that culture is considered in isolation. This procedure is obviously more modest in its scope and more ad hoc in its aims than the latter. The global-comparison (or perception of general laws) method, on the other hand, involves what I call comparing the comparable: it concentrates on the similarities that are observed in the "circumstances of special cases"—in very much the same way that comparative linguistics does not compare languages but formulates phonetic laws on the basis of immediately comparable similarities between languages.

Observing cross-cultural similarities is indispensable in any kind of comparative work; therefore, the fact that it plays a part in studies based on the field of ethnological study concept is not surprising. Van Wouden introduced his study by justifying his

selection of the whole of southeastern Indonesia as the domain of his investigation with the following words: "The different societies of these islands are practically all characterised by the possession of clan systems, all still fairly intact, coupled with an explicit preference for cross-cousin marriage in its restricted form" (1968, p. 1). This is excellent as far as it goes, but as Lévi-Strauss has remarked, it does not go far enough: "If we have been able to make comparative studies intellectually respectable once more, as Leach has said, we have been able to do so because we understand that resemblance as such does not exist: resemblance is only a special form of difference, namely one in which difference approaches zero" (Lévi-Strauss, 1971, p. 32). While it would be foolish to read into van Wouden's work any adumbration of Lévi-Strauss's concept of transformations (as applied to kinship systems, in this case), it is worth noting that van Wouden had no obsessive desire to find resemblances between the kinship systems of the Indonesian field of ethnological study. In fact, van Wouden continued immediately after the sentence quoted above: "In this respect they are strongly distinguished from the societies of Celebes and Halmahera, the two other large culture areas of eastern Indonesia, in which in general there is no question of clan systems but where more bilateral modes of reckoning kinship seem to predominate."¹ In a publication of twenty years later, he systematically investigated the problem of how two of three closely related Indonesian societies accentuate one part of what J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong (1977, p. 168) had called the structural core, and the third emphasizes the other. "Thus in two societies, Tanimbar and eastern Sumba, a system of unilateral circulating connubium underwent a remarkable development, but at the cost of double descent. In Kodi, exactly the opposite happened" (van Wouden, 1977, p. 218).

Another twenty years later, Moyer (1976) applied this type of analysis in a deeper and more sophisticated way to Sumatran material. However, such efforts have been rare among anthropologists working on the Indonesian field of ethnological study. I think that the lack of such analyses is one of the main grounds for criticizing the work of this group—the group of Dutch anthropologists trained by J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong. They—or, as I should say, we—have achieved useful results by applying the structural core as a tool for uncovering the frequently hidden framework of Indonesian social systems.² But we have not yet carried out a systematic program of comparison within the

field of ethnological study in which differences play at least as important a role as resemblances. Thus, individual cultures have not been investigated as variants (linked together by transformations rather than by imperfect resemblances) on a common theme.

There are other problems of method to which we have never given sufficient attention. One of these is the question of the historical dimension, which I mentioned above. Are we justified in using historical data, if it is reliable, concerning fourteenth-century Java or fifteenth-century Malacca, for example, for our mutually interpretative purposes? Yes, we are, in my opinion, as long as we know what we are doing, and why.

I see no reason why information on the territorial classification system of fourteenth-century Java should be less useful than similar information on twentieth-century Java (or Ambon or Malaya), as long as we view such information as a contribution to our knowledge of Indonesian classification systems, that is, as one variation linked with others by transformations that, in this case, also have a historical dimension. However, we must not have the illusion that such data from an earlier period will enable us to reconstruct the early Indonesian, or *Ur-Indonesian*, classification system. Our aim should be to use ancient as well as modern data to enlarge our model of the structural core of the whole field of ethnological study, and then to investigate the extent to which the model applies to the culture under scrutiny (see P. E. de Josselin de Jong, 1957, p. 19n30). Or, slightly varying this procedure, we may specify that we are using a model based on data from the past to elucidate present-day structure. "This will entail a historical reconstruction of a social system which shows a greater measure of integration than the system of today. This is not what Radcliffe-Brown has characterized as 'pseudo-history', for we clearly recognize that perhaps at no time in the past did the actual facts completely agree with our reconstruction. This reconstruction may be compared with a word marked with an asterisk in a linguistic publication: it represents the most acceptable form that can be reconstructed from the available data and the best suited to explain the present-day facts, but it is purely theoretical and has never been observed in actual existence" (P. E. de Josselin de Jong, 1951, p. 6).

Such notions would, I think, be acceptable to most colleagues in our field of ethnological study, but here again we must acknowledge that it is easier to formulate a procedure than to carry it out systematically. It may be enlightening to turn for a

moment, *si magna licet componere parvis*, to an impressive research project, also within a field of ethnological study, in which the historical dimension is not contingent but essential. I am referring to the work of Dumézil.

It is striking that early in the first chapter of that particular book which can be read as a summary of all of his research, both completed and not yet undertaken, Dumézil also draws a lesson from comparative linguistics for his own enterprise. "The first [comparative] linguists hoped to reconstruct the Indo-European language as it had actually been spoken; one of them even wrote fables in a language that would have been quite incomprehensible" (1949, p. 30). This stage, however, now belongs to the past, and what Dumézil's own work attempts, in terms of present-day linguistic comparison, is not "to reconstruct an Indo-European myth, ritual, political institution, or social system . . . , but to situate this myth or this ritual in its type . . . and then to work forward from this schematic model" (Dumézil, 1949, p. 31). In sum then, we can start with an "Indo-European situation that comparison did not enable us to reconstruct in its concrete form, but did enable us to define as a type" (Dumézil, 1949, p. 32).

If allowance is made for the obvious differences between, on the one hand, Dumézil's vast enterprise of linking the Indo-European starting point with its specific terminal points (that is, the actual data relating to ancient Rome, with Vedic India, Persia, and the Germanic cultures in supporting roles) and, on the other, the Indonesian field of ethnological study approach, there is in principle a clear resemblance between J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong's structural core and Dumézil's *figure schématique, mais claire et fixe*. My conclusion is that, in the Indonesian case at least, we may use historical data to enlarge our model of what is, in essence, generally Indonesian. On this basis, it is then possible to proceed to a mutually interpretative analysis of individual cultures, as long as Lévi-Strauss's precept that it is the relations rather than the resemblances that must be our concern is kept in mind.

Because the Indonesianists whose work I am discussing are known for their structuralist inclination, another well known Lévi-Strauss maxim regarding the comparative method is appropriate: "In anthropology as in linguistics, generalization is not based on comparison, but vice versa" (Lévi-Strauss, 1966, p. 401). Since we are at present more concerned with social structure than with mythology, I need remark only how well this ap-

plies to Lévi-Strauss's own *Structures élémentaires de la parenté* (1949). Having analyzed the implications of fundamental notions—nature and culture, incest and exogamy, descent and alliance, reciprocity and dualism—he defined the key concepts of restricted and generalized exchange before addressing the actual comparative work.

As was the case with the precept regarding similarities and differences, there are resemblances and differences between the group typified by J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong and van Wouden on the one side and Lévi-Strauss on the other (not to mention the difference in scale and scope of the two enterprises). That the types of connubium distinguished by the former are practically identical with the types of exchange discussed by the latter is by now too well known to have to be demonstrated. What does require further attention, though, is the basis on which the Dutch Indonesianists built their comparative work. Some generalizations, namely, the structural core elements, have been expressly stated, and they serve their purpose, even though they are at a lower level of abstraction than Lévi-Strauss's. However, it was characteristic of this whole group and of their *chef de file* that they seldom made their theoretical standpoint and their method explicit; in fact, this is also true of present-day researchers. Any further extensive and penetrating study of their work must take into account the fundamental generalizations that were implicit in their writings or that were formulated only orally in teaching and in discussions (see P. E. de Josselin de Jong, 1977, pp. 7, 8, 24).

Several times now I have pointed out that J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong and van Wouden, as well as their contemporaries and successors, did not simply fail to formulate systematic statements on theory and method; they were averse to do so. They "played it by ear," as it were, and experienced the advantages and disadvantages that this approach entails. The advantage is that they did not constitute a school that was bound to uphold orthodox doctrines; the disadvantage, that the mutually interpretative studies of single cultures were less tightly knit and had a smaller cumulative effect than might otherwise have been the case.

The merit of the field of ethnological study approach, as I see it, is that it enables anthropologists to transcend the single-culture monograph without resorting to random or global comparisons. Within the field of ethnological study, an approach in which single cultures are considered as variations on a common

theme, each culture can, in principle at least, contribute to an understanding of the others. But now a question that I raised at the beginning of this paper arises again: Does this method contribute anything valuable to anthropology as a whole, or does it merely expand the universe of discourse from an individual culture to a group of cultures within a field of ethnological study?

I once suggested that it should be possible to proceed to a comparison between fields of ethnological study by a procedure broadly similar to the one that has been applied within a single field of ethnological study (see P. E. de Josselin de Jong, 1969). For saying this, I was taken to task, and on the whole rightly, I now admit, by the linguist Uhlenbeck (1972). His position was much like Lévi-Strauss's (1966), but Uhlenbeck applied it to my idea of possible interfield comparison: "Since anthropologists have adopted such a universal concept as culture, they cannot escape the necessity of refining this concept, and doing so will entail generalization. In principle, the way to achieve this is *not* by induction, or, in other words, by comparative studies, first within a field of ethnological study and then between such fields. I believe linguistics, which has had to face the same problem, is aware of this and recognizes the correctness of de Saussure's insight that linguistics first has to determine the nature of its object. As de Saussure (1931, p. 16) justly remarks: '*sans cette opération élémentaire, une science est incapable de se faire une méthode*'" (1972, p. 151).

Although at present I do not wish to comment on the priority of generalization or comparison I do admit that my earlier notion of comparing several fields of ethnological study was extremely unrealistic. I remain in favor of pursuing, systematizing, and otherwise improving the van Wouden-de Josselin de Jong method within the field of ethnological study. But addressing the question of comparison and generalization in anthropology as a whole is far beyond the scope of this chapter; so I will leave its discussion where it belongs, in studies devoted to anthropological method as such.

Yet I should not conclude without drawing attention to the value of the field of ethnological study method as it appears in the large-scale comparative work of an anthropologist who has never used (and probably has never been aware of) the concept. I am alluding once more to Lévi-Strauss. In the earliest of his major works he concluded, as a *result* of his investigations, that there is an "axis of generalized exchange" (1949, p. 569) that can be seen as the backbone of an area that crosses the boundaries of

the Indonesian field of ethnological study and of others that can be distinguished in eastern Asia. But both *Mythologiques* (1964, 1966, 1968, 1971) and *La voie des masques* (1975) are firmly based on a field of ethnological study, albeit one that raises much greater problems of internal and external boundaries than Indonesia or Australia. To a possible objection that the notion of a field of ethnological study is quite irrelevant in relation to these works, my reply is to ask if it is conceivable that such a mutually interpretative study of a large number of cultures could have been carried out in an area defined only in geographical terms. The field of ethnological study remains, I maintain, an eminently suitable context in which to "study abstract problems by means of concrete facts" (Rivers, 1900, p. 82).

16 Models and Metaphors: Comparative Research in Eastern Indonesia

James J. Fox

FORTY-FIVE YEARS AGO, J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong delivered his inaugural lecture as Professor of Indonesian and General Cultural Anthropology in which he set forth his ideas on the Malay Archipelago as a field of ethnological study. In the same year, he presided at the formal examination and promotion of his student F. A. E. van Wouden. As P. E. de Josselin de Jong has pointed out in the preceding chapter, van Wouden was clearly guided in his research by the comparative procedures outlined by his supervisor. His assigned task was to delimit, define, and compare the societies in a specific region of the Indonesian archipelago. As an appropriate conclusion to this volume, it is worth considering some of the ways in which comparative research has developed in eastern Indonesia since van Wouden's initial study and how it may continue to develop in the future.

Van Wouden ended his thesis with a call for "more intensive research in the field . . . to throw more light" on some of the major questions he had posed (1968, p. 166). The acuity of some of van Wouden's analytic judgments can be appreciated only when one realizes that at the time he wrote there was not a single intensive ethnographic field of study of any society in the region. As he explained in his introduction, "scientific writings by anthropologically trained investigators are at present entirely lacking, and one relies for the most part on more or less incident-

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tal reports by government officials and missionaries" (1968, pp. 2–3).

This situation has now been radically altered. Following the hiatus caused by the Second World War and the Indonesian struggle for independence, research was resumed in the region during the 1950s and increased substantially during the 1960s and 1970s. Between 1950 and 1975, more than 20 anthropologists conducted fieldwork of a year or more in the area. A majority of these anthropologists are contributors to this volume; the quality of their analyses reflects long periods of careful fieldwork.

Since preparation of this volume began, however, the pace of research has, if anything, increased. No fewer than a dozen new studies have been undertaken since 1975. For good reasons, much attention has centered on Sumba, particularly on west Sumba, whose diversity (discussed by Needham in chapter 1) has so far prompted five separate studies of local domains. Intensive field studies have also been carried out in Ngada in central Flores and in Sikka further to the east; similar fieldwork is planned for the far eastern end of Flores and for the island of Solor. Studies are also in progress among some of the peoples on the more inaccessible islands of the southern Moluccas—Kei, Tanembar, and Aru. The result is an increasing body of excellent ethnographic data—precisely the kind of information that van Wouden hoped would shed light on questions he raised in his thesis. To a certain extent, this has indeed occurred; but, at the same time, the nature of these questions has changed.

Recent research has contributed to the creation of a far more complex view of the region as a culture area than van Wouden appears to have had. Cultural similarities are no less strikingly apparent now than they were when van Wouden did his research, but cultural differences can no longer be ignored in an overall view. Van Wouden, for example, appears to have shared the belief of other members of the Leiden school (see Rassers, 1959, pp. 277–281) that eastern Indonesia offered a privileged field of study—a socially conservative area whose comparative study might best reveal the basic pattern of an ancient Indonesian social organization. Methodological arguments, as well as historical and linguistic evidence, however, militate against such a viewpoint.

Although the region can contribute a great deal toward the reconstruction of a model of the proto-Austronesian social world—conceived, as P. E. de Josselin de Jong suggests, not

on a narrow basis but on a scope and scale envisioned by Georges Dumézil and Émile Benveniste in their Indo-European researches—nevertheless, eastern Indonesia represents only one area of a vast Austronesian world. On methodological grounds, sound lexical reconstruction must be based on a whole range of evidence from the entire Austronesian language area. Similarly, the view that the societies of eastern Indonesia are more indicative of earlier social patterns than other Indonesian societies is historically suspect. The peoples of the Moluccas and of the Timor area were among the first populations of Asia to encounter the effects of sustained European influence. Although van Wouden decried the tendency of Western influence to disintegrate the original relationships that he was attempting to reconstruct (see van Wouden 1968, pp. 84 ff.), he did not have a sufficient historical perspective to disentangle the profound, though often subtle, effects of these four centuries of social change. As various chapters of this volume indicate, the study of societies in eastern Indonesia requires a cautious historical assessment of what constitutes "tradition." Furthermore, any reconstruction of an original Austronesian social organization on the basis of a comparative study of societies of the region is complicated by the presence of a substantial number of non-Austronesian language speakers, principally on the islands of Timor, Alor, and Pantar (see Stokhof, 1975). Linguistic and cultural evidence from these peoples can hardly be used to foster van Wouden's intended purpose.

Since van Wouden's thesis, there has been a corresponding change in the motivation and conception of the comparative endeavor. Van Wouden saw marriage as the "pivot" to activities of all the social groups in the region, and he therefore made cross-cousin marriage his starting point for a model of society. It is this model as a logical construction rather than as an ethnohistorical reconstruction that has intrigued subsequent ethnographers. The opportunity to study complex systems of marriage alliance has indeed attracted most anthropologists to the region, but their studies to date have concentrated primarily on the investigation of the processes by which these systems are maintained and only secondarily on the variations among such systems. Nevertheless, the stage has been reached where it is possible to point to specific societies whose marriage systems conform to particular models of alliance; yet this only raises, more emphatically, the further question of why other culturally related societies in the near vicinity deviate from such models. A

large number—possibly a majority—of the societies of eastern Indonesia do not structure their alliances on the basis of exclusive cross-cousin marriage, as van Wouden conceived it, or on the basis of prescriptive alliance, as it has come to be defined. The evidence of these societies—no less than those that approximate previously defined models—is critical to the development of a comprehensive conception of alliance in eastern Indonesia. Comprehension of this sort may shift attention from typological constructs to a study of the processes that give rise to variations.

Essential linguistic research comparable to the anthropological research that has already been carried out remains to be done. Quite a few anthropologists have conducted linguistic research as part of their other studies, but the diversity of languages and dialects of the region requires concerted, systematic investigation. As yet, there is no adequate subgrouping classification of the variety of Austronesian (or non-Austronesian) languages for anthropologists to use as a basis for comparisons between differently related societies.

The more recent anthropological attention to language, however, highlights a further fundamental change in the comparative approach since the publication of van Wouden's thesis. P. E. de Josselin de Jong has noted the importance of a "structural core" to the definition of an ethnological field of study. For van Wouden, the structural core that distinguished eastern Indonesia from other areas of the archipelago consisted of a clan system, asymmetric connubium (or, in other words, exclusive cross-cousin marriage), and sociocosmic dualism. In discussing this core, van Wouden was particularly intent on defining his terminology, and he devoted three full pages of his introduction to a precise definition of "family," "lineage," "clan," "gens," "phratry," "moiety," "tribe," "cousins," "connubium," and so on. To his credit, he expressed interest in the native terminology and attempted to extract such terms from the ethnographic literature. Yet his analyses make clear that his structural core consisted of a prior model of formally defined terms to which native categories were selectively fitted. In contrast, virtually all the anthropologists who have done fieldwork in the region since van Wouden have approached this problem from the opposite direction. They have tried to study each society from within and in terms of its own social categories.

Research on the social categories of particular societies has tended not to dispel the notion of a structural core but rather to reinterpret it. Instead of relying on a formal model consisting of

predefined elements, researchers have begun gradually to redefine a structural core in terms of a common set of shared social categories. As I noted in the introduction, "house," which is generally identified by the same Austronesian cognate, is one such social category. It is widely used throughout the region to define a descent group depending on social context. For some societies in the area, a "house" may approximate a "clan"; in others, a "lineage"; in still others, a group coterminous with the extended family. It is thus a relative category that must be interpreted in association with other social categories. It calls into play and indeed requires a larger set of categories.

Relative age categories that distinguish elder and younger siblings and parallel cousins provide another pertinent example of the relevance of social categories to the redefinition of a structural core. These relative age categories are commonly relied on to assert genealogical status relationships within or among houses or larger social groupings. In most of the Austronesian languages of the region, these categories are used reciprocally only by members of the same sex. Hence they can structure relationships equally well among male agnates, as in the case of the "patrilineal" Rotinese, and among related women, as in the case of the "matrilineal" Tetun. In this way, the distinction between "matrilineality" and "patrilineality" which was so crucial to van Wouden can be shown to depend on the contextual use of similar categories. These categories, in turn, imply others.

If relative age categories of elder/younger are used among members of the same sex to structure relationship within related groups, opposite-sex categories frequently serve to distinguish relationships between groups. These kin categories often form the basis for a complex and variable idiom of alliance. Since they apply to members of the same generation and connote a crucial aspect of male-female relationships, they imply a complementary, contemporaneous equality. In contrast, the relationship between mother's brother and sister's child, which in this area is invariably marked by cognates of the Austronesian term for "trunk," "root," "base," or "origin," stresses the status differences involved in the continuity of alliance. But neither set of categories is sufficient to encompass all aspects of the idiom of alliance in eastern Indonesia. Each set calls forth other categories whose general, as well as particular, significance remains a subject of continuing investigation.

This continuing investigation may eventually alter the conceptual status and relevance of van Wouden's most important

analytic categories—those of wife-giver and wife-taker. Contributions to this volume already give a good indication of the variety of native categories that are used as equivalents to these terms. Onvlee, for example, states that the categories *jera-ana kawini* and *loka-ndoma* denote wife-giving and wife-taking groups in east and west Sumba, respectively. Both sets of terms, he explains (1973, pp. 309–310), define a relation that focuses on the mother's brother and sister's husband. This, however, is merely a convenient way of discussing a situation of considerable local variation. In fact, "*jera-ana kawini*" derives from the language of Kampera in east Sumba and "*loka-ndoma*" from the language of Wewera in central west Sumba. They are by no means the only possible terms for wife-giver and wife-taker on the island, and each set encodes a slightly different sense of the alliance relationship. According to Onvlee's data in Fischer (1957), in Kampera *jera* specifically denotes the mother's brother's son who is also the wife's brother whereas *ana kawini* refers to the daughter. Timor presents a situation of even greater variation. Both Ema and Mambai utilize a similar set of terms (Ema: *uma mane/mane heu*; Mambai: *umaena/umaen heua*) meaning "masculine house/new men" to denote wife-givers and wife-takers. But Clamagirand notes a number of other ways of distinguishing these groups. Wife-givers are also called "maternal uncles and ancestors" and sometimes "mothers and fathers"; wife-takers, "sisters and their children" and "paternal aunts and their husbands." This flexibility is also similar to that of the Mambai. *Umaena* is a reference term for the wife's brother, but the term *nai* (WF, MB) can also be used to refer to wife-givers. In ritual language, wife-givers may be addressed as "my maternal uncle/my ancestor" and wife-takers as "my sister/my paternal aunt" (see Traube, 1977, pp. 121–122). Schulte Nordholt does not commit himself to any native equivalents for the terms wife-giver and wife-taker; rather he examines the many implications of the distinction between *mone* and *feto* ("male" and "female") in Atoni society. The nature of alliance on Roti, as indeed on Savu, makes it even more difficult to fix on any equivalent native categories for wife-giver and wife-taker, thus rendering the distinction of lesser analytic value. The closest approximations are the terms *toö-huk* and *bai-huk* ("mother's brother" and "mother's mother's brother of origin") for former wife-givers and *sele-dadik* ("sister's child") for wife-takers. These terms designate a relationship similar to that in Kédang where the expression *epu puén/bapa matan* ("the trunk

epu/the source *bapa*”) refers to the line of the mother’s brother and hence to the wife-givers and *maqing-anak* to the sister’s son or daughter’s husband who represents the wife-takers. The crucial difference is that on Roti there is no prescriptive rule of marriage and thus former wife-givers are not necessarily wife-givers for the next generation. The Manggarai, on the other hand, present a case where the distinction between wife-giver (*anak rona*) and wife-taker (*anak wina*) possesses fundamental significance without having prescriptive implication. But the literal sense of these terms (*anak*: “child”; *rona*: “husband”; *wina*: “wife”) suggests that the social focus of this relationship is again somewhat different than in other societies of the area. Yet another focus seems to be implied by the categories “children of the brother” for wife-givers and “children of the sister” for wife-takers among the Huauulu of Seram.

The overwhelming impression of the variety of these categories is that of a range of resemblances in the conception of alliance—similarities rather than an identity of features. Together the combination of kin categories, terms for the house and for parts of the body, color categories, spatial coordinates, and botanic expressions—many of which appear to be reconstructible as proto-Austronesian—composes metaphors whose analysis may provide a better comparative perspective on alliance than van Wouden’s formal model. Such category analysis should radically alter the notion of dualism as a thing-in-itself rather than a particular mode of perception and action. The vitality of eastern Indonesian societies which van Wouden recognized is not the effect of an adherence to specific organizational structures but rather the result of a continuing preservation of similar metaphors for living which are encoded primarily in a pervasive dyadic form.

Notes

We are deeply grateful to the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde for permission to quote freely throughout this volume from F. A. E. van Wouden, *Types of Social Structure in Eastern Indonesia*, trans. R. Needham, Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde Translation Series, vol. 11 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1968).

1. Principles and Variations in the Structure of Sumbanese Society

Rodney Needham

1. Topographical names in Sumbanese are given in this chapter in an anglicized orthography, most notably by the use of *v* for the Dutch *w*. It is convenient, however, to retain the designations of certain administrative centers more nearly as they appear on maps, for example, Waingapu, Waikabubak. The names of political domains (*landschappen*) or principalities, as they have been called, are spelled in various ways in the ethnographic literature; it is not claimed that the forms adopted here are in every case superior to others.

2. I have in mind my helper and constant companion M. Màru Dàku, whose indispensable guidance toward any understanding of Sumba that I may have is very gratefully acknowledged.

3. I rely in the first instance on my own notes for terms from Bukambero, Ede, Kodi, Lamboya, Laura, Mamboru, Rara, and Tana Rivu. Onvlee's invaluable collection of terminologies from all over Sumba has been published in Fischer's article (1957). Other lists are to be found in unpublished administrative reports, especially in Riekerk (1936). There is not room on this occasion to reproduce the terminologies.

4. This is given support by Onvlee, who lists the term for MZD as

woto, that is, the same term as is applied to the sister (*vòto*) (see Fischer, 1957, p. 12).

5. An analysis of this system has been made and is intended for publication in due course.

6. This example was hard to come by (to begin with, it had simply been omitted from the genealogies that I had compiled for the patrilineages concerned), and I think I have only one other comparable instance to report. Mârû Dâku guessed that there had been probably one or two more instances in recent days.

7. In Kodi, men and women suffix to their own name that of their first spouse.

8. In the other case that I noted, the mitigation was that one of the women was only a half-sister, by a different father, to the man who gave her away.

9. Umbu Ratu Nggai, not shown on map 1.1, is a domain artificially created by the Dutch government (Nooteboom 1940, p. 145). It is larger than Lavonda and Mbolu Bokat, which fall within its administrative borders but which retain their separate identities in the eyes of the people of Mamboru.

10. It is in accordance with this principle, incidentally, that I should judge it best in conformity with Sumbanese ideas to represent the class system, as does Nooteboom (1940, p. 29), as composed basically of only two divisions rather than of three, four, or more numerous classes, as are reported by other ethnographers (see Roos, 1872; de Roo van Alderwerelt, 1890).

11. Nooteboom (1940) and Fischer (1957) have considered this matter and have arrived at differing conclusions. I do not agree with their findings, but to make the critique that their arguments properly call for would protract this chapter altogether too far.

12. Since the publication of *Sociale structuurtypen in de Groote Oost* (van Wouden, 1935), the ethnographic literature on the Lesser Sunda Islands has been considerably extended, and the analysis of prescriptive systems has I think been in some respects advanced also. I should, however, like to stress, in addition to the importance accorded here to van Wouden's work, the continuing theoretical value of van Ossenbruggen's comparative survey, including his coverage of eastern Indonesia and in particular his comments on Sumba (1935, pp. 104-113).

2. The Marriage Nexus among the Manggarai of West Flores

John L. Gordon

The research on which this paper is based was supported by a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health and was conducted in Indonesia in 1972-1973 under the auspices of the Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia. I am grateful to James J. Fox for his guidance and helpful comments and also to Father J. A. J. Verheijen for his insightful remarks on a draft of this paper.

1. Fischer (1957) included the Manggarai in an article on kinship systems in eastern Indonesia, and a recent treatment, based on rules of genealogical equivalence, can be found in Scheffler and Lounsbury (1971).

2. Needham points out the sources of Lévi-Strauss's statement in a footnote in "Terminology and Alliance" (1966).

3. *Suku* in the Manggarai version of Bahasa Indonesia usually means "clan"; in other regions the term refers to entire ethnic groups.

4. With the following exceptions, my own list is identical to the one that appears here: in my list *to'a* is ZD and WBC, and *koa* is DH and ZS. Verheijen cites "to'a" as the term for ZS and defines "koa" as DH. However, in volume 1 of *Kamus Manggarai* (1967) he glosses "koa" as ZS in central Manggarai and as ZS and ZD in west Manggarai. I found *késa* used also to refer to FZS and MBS. Verheijen notes that this usage occurs in west Manggarai and in the S-H region (the area between west and central Manggarai in which the phoneme *s* is replaced by *h*) but is seldom found in central Manggarai. The reference is, of course, to a potential brother-in-law since "*késa*" indicates WB and ZH.

5. These marriage statistics are based on two sources: the official records for the parish of Ruteng, covering eighteen years and including more than 700 marriages, and my observations in the village of Lamba Nderu.

6. In 1973, one U.S. dollar equaled Rp 412.

7. A rope calendar is a knotted rope on which each knot represents one day.

3. Concordance, Structure, and Variation: Considerations of Alliance in Kédang

Robert H. Barnes

My research in Kédang during the period of 1969-1971 was conducted under the auspices of the Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia. This chapter, in large part based on that research, has gone through several drafts and has been read at various stages by James Littlejohn, Rodney Needham, Peter Rivière, and James J. Fox. Its present form incorporates substantial alterations made in response to their comments, and I wish to thank them for their help. It was completed in 1974 and presented to the Department of Social Anthropology, University of Manchester, March 1, 1976. I am grateful for their invitation and for their responses to it.

1. I regret not having had the opportunity to visit the villages in question but will attempt to do so on a subsequent trip.

2. Though none has yet been recorded, it is possible that there is a nonprescriptive or even a symmetric terminology somewhere. To judge by the Tetun of Timor, it is conceivable too, as some missionaries have suggested to me, that some communities might have matrilineal institutions.

3. Dr. Peter Rivière made this point in a letter to me dated March 5, 1973.

4. One exception qualifies this statement. A line in one clan may wish to signal ceremonially a relationship to a line in another clan similar to one between agnates. This is done by presenting the appropriate kind of cloth at a funeral. Any substantial marriages between such lines are treated like breaches of exogamy.

5. A printer's error, introduced after proof stage, confuses my first report of the relevant figures (1974a, p. 297). The sentence beginning line 11 should read: "Of these marriages only 116 marriages or 17 percent satisfy the preference."

6. Needham (1962, p. 97) has commented on the complexity which may be associated with matrilinear alliance in connection with social stratification or political considerations. This passage obviously points up a comparative issue which will become increasingly actual as the number of modern studies of societies of this kind is augmented. Kédang too is a society with no rigid social stratification (if the former dominance of the ruling village of Kalikur is disregarded).

7. In a passage on the concordance shown by total structural analysis of prescriptive societies, Needham (1972, p. 155) says that such analysis may reveal the "principles of order" which are few and simple, and that the conceptual order of such societies is constituted by three modes of relation: opposition, analogy, and homology. In discussions of this topic, Needham (1958, p. 98; 1973c, pp. 116-117) does not normally distinguish between principles of order, modes of classification, and modes of relation. Whether or not there is any need to do so, it is clear that the meaning of the word "principles" ranges from organizing themes in a particular culture to completely abstract terms such as opposition and analogy, which Needham claims are the "prime objects of analysis" (1972, p. 155). The latter are the ultimate result of analysis in Kédang as well; but I have found concordance in characteristic Kédang abstractions that are neither so remote from the native idiom nor so ubiquitous.

4. Obligation and Alliance: State Structure and Moiety Organization in Thie, Roti

James J. Fox

The research on which this chapter is based was originally supported by a Public Health Service fellowship (MH-23,148) and grant (MH-10,161) from the National Institute of Mental Health and was conducted in 1965-1966 in Indonesia under the auspices of the Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia. The continuation of this research was again supported by an NIMH grant (MH-20,659) and was carried out in 1972-1973 under the joint sponsorship of LIPI and the University Nusa Cendana in Kupang, Timor. While preparing this paper, I have benefited from the comments of Robert H. Barnes.

1. The Dutch themselves recognized grudgingly that this scheme was an elaborate rationalization of previous rule. The Dutch officer charged with carrying out the 1928 program wrote, at the time, that "self-rule under one Radja remains a dead form . . . I am convinced that the continuation of this rule by a single head shall remain just that" (de Boer, 1937, p. 60). As he pointed out, almost all effective power remained in the hands of the *Manek* and *Fetor* of the individual domains.

2. Whereas most Rotinese domains have had this tripartite system of offices, several small domains on Roti's south coast have functioned without the office of Fetor. Each of these domains arose from the division of some larger domain. Some (Bokai and Lelenuk, for example) consisted of land given to Rotinese soldiers (*mardijkers*) who had served the Company for a period of years. These domains were therefore recognized under special provisions. In Delha, which arose from the partition of the larger domain of Oenale, the Fetor line of Oenale became the ruling line of Delha, and in Talae, which was separated from Termanu, the Fetor line has managed to prevent succession to the office of Manek and has ruled that domain itself.

3. In Rotinese, the word *temukun* became simply *temuku(k)*.

4. Van der Kam wrote a total of five papers on Roti, all of which appeared in 1934 and 1935 in the *Koloniaal Tijdschrift*. However, only the first of these papers was available when van Wouden wrote his thesis in 1935.

5. The belated adoption of the title *Maneleo* by the Dutch in the 1920s as a supposedly authentic translation of "Temukun" only served to confuse matters. Though literally correct and even appropriate in some domains, "Maneleo" confounded rank in those domains where both "Manesio" and "Maneleo" were used to refer to positions at different levels of clan segmentation. Suddenly, in the name of tradition, the Dutch began to refer to high-ranking Manesio by the lesser title of Maneleo. In these domains, Rotinese preferred to keep the internal and external title systems separate and continued to opt for the neutral title Temukun.

6. The mutual concurrence of interests of Rotinese rulers and Dutch administrators during the nineteenth century shaped the internal organization of the domains. I have examined this process for Termanu and Thie (Fox, 1979a), but I have not yet considered variant developments in other important domains such as Dengka or Bilba.

7. This is particularly true among the two leading lineages of the Manek and Fetor clans in Bilba.

8. This description of named prestations is based on the traditions of Termanu, but throughout the island, these prestations are similar, though their names vary. In one respect, however, a contrast can be drawn between areas of east and west Roti: in the eastern domain of Bilba, the line of maternal affiliation is recognized for an additional generation, and the mother's mother's brother (*solo-huk*) is given a minor gift at the mortuary ceremonies; in Thie, on the other hand, the giving of gifts to the *baï-huk* has gradually diminished.

9. This statement comes from Jeremias Henukh of Dengka.

10. West Rotinese beliefs about incest spirits, terms of mockery for incestuous couples and their children, and elaborate procedures for dispelling some of the effects of incest have no parallel in east Roti.

11. The exception is Kona which van Lynden (1851, p. 400) assigned to the jurisdiction of the Fetor. Since Kona is now considered one of the minor clans of Sabarai, this either constitutes a mistake on van Lynden's part or suggests a change of Kona's position in the moiety system. As it happens, a number of anomalies surround Kona. Genealogical evidence on Kona is ambiguous and a relation of enmity exists between it and Keka Dulu, which prevents marriage between these two clans.

6. Descent, Alliance, and Exchange Ideology among the Makassae of East Timor

Shepard Forman

The research on the Makassae that I report here was conducted in 1973–1974. I am grateful to the National Science Foundation for its support and to Leona Shluger Forman for her full and equal participation in the fieldwork endeavor. Elizabeth Traube carried out research among the Mambai of east Timor during the same period; this chapter has benefited from our many conversations and the free and open cooperation that characterized our independent research. Nanai'e Nau Naha, Guardian of the Myths and Traditions, Osolari, instructed me in the language and culture of the Makassae. Whatever understanding I have of their system, I owe to his teachings. I am grateful to Claudine Berthe-Friedberg, Robbins Burling, Vern Carroll, James Fox, Raymond Kelly, Conrad Kottak, Abe Rosman, Paula Rubel, and Misha Titiev for their comments on the draft of this chapter.

1. Under the Portuguese, east Timor was divided into 11 administrative districts, *concelho*, which, in turn, were divided into administrative posts. Each post comprised a number of *suku*, the largest indigenous political units, and was ruled by a *Liurai* ("Lord of the Land"). Each *suku* was composed of a number of "villages," nonnucleated groupings that corresponded to lineage clusters and sometimes approximated former clans. Although a traditional political authority, a *Liurai* needed Portuguese approval both at the time of his succession and in his day-to-day conduct of administrative affairs. On some occasions, nontraditional authorities were appointed. A village chief selected by the *Liurai* might not be a lineage head. If the man appointed was not a lineage head, then there was a potential for conflict between the traditional and colonial systems.

2. Lineages are almost certainly the remnant of a former clan structure, the history of which is expressed explicitly in a tree idiom. The myth of the origin of the *suku* Lakolihi tells of the founding fathers' emergence from a tree at the top of Mate Bian *femme* (the higher of the two peaks that cap the rugged mountain range) and their descent from

the mountain to plant their houses on the abutments below. Collateral links through each house-founder's siblings are recognized by members of other lineage houses that share common clan histories.

3. Conflict between the woman and her husband's kinsmen over trusteeship is common and often required arbitration by native courts or the former colonial administration.

4. Only one case of matrilineal affiliation has come to my attention. It is that of a young man whose father left his mother before his birth but after having agreed to a lifetime of brideservice in the fields of his father-in-law. The father-in-law had no sons and also belonged to a lineage that had few male heirs. The son was registered at birth as a member of his maternal grandfather's suku. The rule, however, is that, even when residence is uxorilocal or avunculocal, males and their children are affiliated with their father's lineage house.

5. One of the keys to descent group structure for the Makassae is the differentiated rendering of a ritual that, although similar in general structure and in cultural meaning, is given a specific expression in the traditions of each lineage house. For example, the suku Lakolihi has two *data*, or sets of ritual traditions: *modo bere* for "big men," and *darnini* for "ordinary folks." Darnini is a condensed, somewhat impoverished version of *modo bere*. Still more variation is found in the performance of either of these rituals in any two lineage houses, save for those that share a *Data Gi Gauaha*. The keeping secret of traditions and the taboos against relating myths except in ritual contexts account for some of this differentiation. At one time, a general *Data Gi Gauaha* for an entire suku was chosen from a clan, Ahalari; this fostered ritual continuity and provided some "expertise" for lineage ritual specialists to follow. However, conversion of the sons of that clan to Christianity necessitated having the elder of a lesser house serve as general ritual specialist. This man, Nanai'e Nau Naha, was my teacher; he no doubt places his own gloss on ritual performance.

6. The origins referred to are, of course, the ones elaborated in myths, in which the Makassae are said to have descended from two incestuous unions of brother and sister, themselves born of the splitting of a single hermaphrodite. The emphasis on the eldest son might be related to realities of Makassae demographic patterns. Because of the usual age structure in a family, the eldest son is unlikely to share the inheritance from his father or benefit from his sister's bridewealth; affiliation with his mother's patrilineage is therefore of prime importance.

7. There have been, however, cases of classificatory B/Z marriage within one lineage. In one, no children were born, and a son was adopted by the lineage. In the other, seven children were born of the union; the woman's father said that the births resulted from the mixing of "good" bloods.

8. In effect, the Makassae system of exchange provides considerable flexibility for the flow of wealth between minimal descent groups. Although marital exchange might theoretically enable an enterprising in-

dividual to enter a series of alliances that he could manipulate for the accumulation of wealth and power, the long delays between various bridewealth payments, which are geared to the "traditional" value of the woman, make this unlikely. Furthermore, the complementary and obligatory exchanges of primary goods—buffalo, horses, and swords in exchange for pigs and rice—in mortuary rituals randomize the movement of these resources, just as the specification that alliance be to immediate agnates rather than to entire descent groups helps to move wealth both within the lineage and out again; these exchanges thus help to maintain a degree of equality between descent groups. It is conceivable, of course, that an individual may time the sponsoring of mortuary rituals to manipulate the flow of wealth, but there are great pressures on him to perform; and timing appears to be influenced more by his inability to sponsor a ritual in which he stands to lose in any event.

9. The amount of bridewealth demanded depends on the lineage house but is usually between 6 and 9 water buffalo and horses plus an equal number of swords; however, for so-called royal marriages between offspring of Liurai, up to 50 head of cattle, dozens of old Makassar swords, and valuable gold discs are often exchanged.

10. If the marriage has not been arranged by their parents, the bride and groom may well have had previous sexual contact. Nevertheless, the actual union begins when one of the man's kinsmen, usually a classificatory brother, presents the man at the woman's home; he spends the night there with his bride and remains in brideservice in his father-in-law's gardens and paddies until a "sufficient" amount of bridewealth has been paid.

11. Beads and gold discs do not have the symbolic elaboration that accompanies animal and food exchanges. That only primary exchange goods, and not beads and gold discs, are transferred in mortuary exchanges further supports the symbolic dimension of my argument. What is interesting is that these objects of wealth, particularly beads, have been traded down by Portuguese authorities and native rulers in the course of pacification in a pattern of exchange that follows the one established between wife-givers and wife-takers. Secondary bridewealth payments (called "brother's share" or "father's share" rather than "the value of the woman") seem to have contributed to a system of social and ideological stratification in Timor that is the handmaiden of Portuguese colonialism.

12. Whether Father Sky actually impregnates Mother Earth is not considered by the Makassae, who look on sexual intercourse as an act to be done discreetly and privately: "We (the Makassae) suspect that they (Father Sky and Mother Earth) lie together at night while we sleep, but we cannot know for sure; we only see the dew on her in the morning."

13. A number of paired words occur in ritual contexts, particularly in chants that are said to be in "Old Makassae." My informants claimed neither to understand nor to be able to recite them. It is possible that the paired words are remnants of a former ritual language.

14. The fact that in some lineage traditions the husband and wife themselves cannot partake of the first pork exchange might suggest that any offspring forthcoming from this symbolic offering of the substance of life are, in effect, the children of the lineage, just as they are biologically and affectively the children of the parents. Still, it does not necessarily follow that bridewealth is a simple statement about lineage exogamy and the incorporation of a female into another house. Bridewealth payments often go uncompleted, yet there is little—if any—question about the affiliation of children with the patrilineage.

15. There is another, more pragmatic but less instructive, level at which the cloths and the *gaba* can be explained: “Our daughters should not go off unclothed”; and “Even though we have received, we are still of substance.”

16. Seen in this light, the emergence of the woman from her new lineage house might symbolize her own rebirth as a member of her husband’s lineage—in effect, as his sister.

17. The Makassae say that there are female *umurai*, but they are not invoked in any ritual, nor does the “making of the dead” ceremony seem to be performed for women.

18. It is interesting to note that the part of the umbilical cord that is left to dry and fall from the infant after being tied off at birth is buried by the infant’s father in the mud next to a mountain spring, Mother Earth’s breast, so that the body can be nourished again after burial. Conversely, the half of the umbilical cord that is cut before tying-off and the afterbirth are hung high in the *mome* tree, because one cannot return to Mother Earth what she has expelled. Similarly, the head of an enemy is cut and hung in a tree so that its spirit cannot undergo multiple “burial” and ascension.

19. Christians also are buried in cemeteries outside the ancestral hearth, but their pillows and nightclothes are immediately buried within the ancestral hearth in a full funerary ritual.

20. It is significant that the Makassae use weaving yarn in this ritual rather than the *kesi* (the implement with which the weaving itself is actually accomplished), which symbolizes the weaving of social bonds between women who marry into the same patrilineage. Kinsmen are sometimes referred to as *gi iti gi tana* (“fingers and toes”) by the Makassae.

21. The making of the dead ideally should immediately follow the *manu taba dane* and be completed within seven years of the individual’s death. However, the exhaustion of exchange goods usually causes it to be delayed, often for several decades, until kinsmen have rebuilt their stock of buffalo or pigs—or until a period of illness suggests that it is time to look after the ancestors again. The making of the dead ceremony that I witnessed took place thirty-five years after the death.

22. Berthe-Friedberg (personal communication), suggests that the *resa gi lubu toili* ceremony, as conducted by the Bunaq, might be intended to hasten the ripening of the rice by imploring the stalk to

bend and touch the ground. This interpretation seems valid for the ceremony as conducted by the Makassae as well. (When it does not accompany the making of the dead, the *resa gi lubu toili* functions as a ritual form of compensation to the unpaid field hands of the Liurai.)

23. During the *rau uai* (the major ceremony that precedes the ritual storage of corn), the descent group, dressed in red shirts and blowing buffalo horns, leave the lineage house in a triumphant reenactment of the menstrual flow and return with gifts given to them by passersby. "Rau uai," translated literally, is "good blood" or "good remains."

24. A production paradigm that does not include digging sticks and seeds might be adequate for gatherers but not for serious agriculturalists. In the case of the Makassae, the absence of sticks and seeds from discussions about beliefs related to agricultural production might follow from the fact that the cultivation of rice is not indigenous to the Makassae; it has been introduced, as has maize and most other nontuber crops.

25. Makassae beliefs about food exchanges bear heavily on organizing for production. Thus, for example, an unmarried son works his father's rice fields and partakes of the harvest. Once married, however, a young man either does service in his father-in-law's paddies or is given one or more of his father's fields to cultivate as his own. A third alternative is for a man to enter a partnership with a nonkinsman and offer his labor in exchange for seeds, fields, and an equal share of the raw product.

7. Notes on the Meaning of Marriage Prestations among the Huaulu of Seram

Valerio Valeri

I read a longer version of this chapter at the International Conference of Economic Anthropology in Florence in March 1974. I thank all the participants who made suggestions, particularly George Dalton and Marshall Sahlins.

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8. The Significance of Livestock on Sumba

L. Onvlee

This chapter was originally published in Dutch under the title "De betekenis van vee en veebezit op Sumba" in *Hemera Zoa* 59:568–584, 1952, and later in *De Heerbaan* 7:49–66, 1954, and in *Cultuur als antwoord* 1973, pp. 10–26. It has been translated and is printed here by permission of the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde.

9. Structural Aspects of East Sumbanese Art

Marie Jeanne Adams

This chapter is a slightly revised version of "Structural Aspects of a Village Art," which appeared in *American Anthropologist* 75:265–279, 1973. It is printed here by permission of the American Anthropological Association. I thank Hildred Geertz and Douglas Fraser for their helpful comments. I also extend my gratitude to my informants in east Sumba, especially Umbu nai Pombu, of Kapunduku, and Umbu Tanangundju (Tamu Umbu), of Melolo.

1. Titles of royalty are no longer recognized by the Indonesian government, but the nobility on Sumba continue as the major economic and cultural force in the lives of the people. Formerly, capital villages were situated on hilltops. As a result of governmental pressure, however, all inhabitants have moved into valley hamlets which are nearer water supplies and accessible pathways, and one hamlet now serves as the ceremonial center of its district.

2. In the Kambera dialect of east Sumbanese, *hinggi* means "wrap," and *kombu* is the name of the local tree from which the prestigious rust dye is derived. Terms and phrases that I use in this chapter are in the standard Kambera dialect, except those that are specific to Kapunduku, which are in the local dialect. As in Indonesian, verbs in east Sumbanese do not indicate tense, and my translations are meant to be neither definitive nor exhaustive.

3. In Kapunduku, the names of the clans on the downstream side are Kahanga Khina, Makata Pandji, Kabulungu, and Wai Talora; on the upstream side, Temu, Mangatju, Tidahu, and Makambiru. These two groups are also referred to by two sets of two ritual phrases, which entitle them "supporters and defenders of the realm": (a) *waiju la hanamba* (a reference to the upright stone altars in the village plaza—center) and *je la ngaru pindu* (the wooden bars at the village entrance—periphery); and (b) *lindiku marada* (the support of the plains—horizontal) and *tolaku paraingu* (the prop of the capital—vertical).

4. A clear example of ordering by favored numbers appears in a report on bridewealth (based on information from various districts of east Sumba) that was presented at a conference on customs held in Waingapu in the Kambera district (see Wohangara, 1963). The section of the report devoted to Kapunduku (which then was combined with the Haharu district) indicates four levels of bridewealth and the sums for the four groups entitled to receive it. The bridewealth, which is formally masculine, consists of two units (horses and metal goods), each of which branches into units of masculine and feminine character. Gifts of horses, for example, include a combination of stallions and mares; the metal unit consists of feminine ornaments and masculine chains. Depending on how much can be afforded, bridewealth is scaled in the following quantities:

- a. (2 horses, 2 ornaments, 2 chains) $\times$ 4 groups = 8 horses, 8 ornaments, 8 chains

- b. (4 horses, 4 ornaments, 4 chains) $\times$ 4 groups = 16 horses, 16 ornaments, 16 chains
- c. (8 horses, 8 ornaments, 8 chains) $\times$ 4 groups = 32 horses, 32 ornaments, 32 chains
- d. (16 horses, 16 ornaments, 16 chains) $\times$ 4 groups = 64 horses, 64 ornaments, 64 chains

10. The Order and Significance of the Savunese House

N. L. Kana

This chapter is an edited version of an article originally published in Indonesian under the title "Aturan dan Makna pada Rumah Sawu" in *Cakrawala Majalah Penelitian Sosial*, vol. 8, 1976. It has been translated and is printed here by permission of the Lembaga Penelitian Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial of the Universitas Kristen Satya Wacana.

1. Researchers presently studying Savu are still in the process of developing a standard system for transcribing Savunese. The transcription of Savunese words in this chapter and the use of various diacritical marks must be considered provisional.

2. *Ihi rai* means literally "contents of the land." The reference here is to the portion of the harvest that is paid to the owner of the land by the person who works it. The Savunese believe that Savu was restored to its present size by taking land from the island of Raijua. During the *hole* ceremony they symbolically return a portion of the land by placing some earth on a tiny perahu that is directed to Raijua. This symbolic act is a sign that the Savunese work the land of Raijua.

3. The *nada rae*, or "gathering place of the village" is located at the exact center (*telora*) of the village. A single tree surrounded by a pile of stones marks this spot.

4. *Jawa* is applied to anything that is regarded as coming from outside Savu—for example, *do jawa* (a "foreigner") as opposed to *do Hawu* (a "Savunese"); *terae jawa* ("maize") as opposed to *terae Hawu* ("sorghum"); *ki'i jawa* ("sheep") as opposed to *ki'i Hawu* ("goats").

5. A house with platforms but with uncurved side walls (because they are not of *taga batu* construction) is considered a "foreign" house. Such a house is also called an *amu ata* (a "cut house"); because its side walls are straight and form right angles with the floor, it gives the impression of being sharply cut.

6. If a house has ground-level platforms along its entire front side, the platforms are not as wide as the platform of a house that has space in front of its two doors.

7. As soon as the ceremonies have been completed, *hemanga* enters the house. According to the Savunese, all living things have *hemanga*. Once a year, during the month of *Ādāba*, a ceremony (also known as *Ādāba*) is performed for all children born during the preceding year. If a child dies before this ceremony is performed for him, the mother takes earth from the child's grave and places it in the folds of her sarong. This

act is a symbolic request for the hemanga to return to the woman and to reincarnate the next child she conceives.

11. The Symbolic Classification of the Atoni of Timor

H. G. Schulte Nordholt

Part of the research that underlies this chapter was made possible by a grant from the Netherlands Foundation for the Advancement of Tropical Research.

1. In a *lopo* the *ni ainaf* is the post that rests on the floor of the loft and extends to the ridge of the roof. It stands at the center and is supported by four corner posts, which symbolize the four territories of a principality that are grouped around the center, the "inner circle." Since a *lopo* has no walls, these posts stand "outside" (*mone*) and are therefore "male." They support the maternal post, *ni ainaf*, which stands within, shrouded in darkness. This post is a symbol of the sacral lord who lives at the center, or "navel," of the realm.

2. In Indonesian, the terms are always in the reverse order: *sirih-pinang* ("leaves and nuts"). In Sumbanese and in Rotinese, as in Timorese, however, the female element is mentioned first (Onvlee, personal communication; Fox, personal communication).

3. The Atoni have fallen victim to an optical illusion, however. From Tamkesi, the peaked mountain of Tapen Pah certainly seems higher; but, in fact, surveyors for the Topographical Service have established that the round peak of Oe Puah is the higher of the two points.

4. In ritual texts (see Schulte Nordholt, 1971, p. 68) the female water is mentioned first:

Therefore I invoke, I summon
The Lord of the Lake (*nifu*), and the Lord of the Earth (*pah*),
My female ancestors (*be'i*), my male ancestors (*na'i*),
My hidden power, my progenitive power,
To come nearer and approach hither.

5. Onvlee (1973, p. 19; and Chapter 8 in this volume) reports a similar attitude toward sacrifice on Sumba, as does Reimar Schefold (personal communication) for Mentawai.

12. Incursions upon Wehali: A Modern History of an Ancient Empire

Gérard Francillon

This chapter is based mainly on material that I collected during the period 1962–1964 in the area around Betun in south Belu. My research was supported by a Research Scholarship from the Australian National University. I obtained more recent information through occasional correspondence with informants and friends in Belu and through a fortuitous encounter with a north Belu administrative officer in Kupang in September 1974.

1. The word *fukun* has several other meanings in Tetun: "knuckle," "node" (of bamboo, rattan), "internode." *Roa* is used in high language for "Fukun."

2. Fukun might, for example, be permitted to determine the amount of a fine to be paid by a man who has spoken harshly with his in-laws. However, more important matters, such as divorce, would have to be settled by the village chiefs. If, as occasionally happens, a marriage has been officially registered, then the divorce case must be referred to the nearest representative, the *Camat*, of the central government of central Malaka.

3. Mathijssen (1904, pp. 36-37) also remarked that the attitude of the Rabasa people was understandable. On a reconnaissance tour of the area three years earlier, a *Posthouder* met hostile demonstrations and verbal threats. He retaliated by ordering a gunboat to fire a few rounds of shells at the beach near the villages of Loofoun and Rabasa.

4. Memory of Lord Maroè Rai's name and deeds is very well preserved in south Belu. Old people remember his frightening looks, his pointed moustache, his piercing eyes, the sound of his steps as he walked, and the swiftness of his sword when he chastised. A great warrior, he opposed the Dutch forces and kept them from penetrating his territory until 1901. If one can rely on Mathijssen's (1904) account of Maroè Rai's exploits, the man must have been a natural leader and an active peacemaker for the whole of the south Timor plain. Through physical force and magical potency, he took advantage of the political vacuum at the time and personally maintained law and order. All informants agree that he had no legitimate authority to do this because he was not the head of the Rabasa principedom, although he was of noble descent. Within the native political system, the House of Rabasa was not even responsible for dealing with the internal affairs of the area. Then, as now, the principedom was merely a buffer state.

5. Why the Liurai at this time avoided matters that might have concerned him is not an easy question to answer. Even after he was reappointed to (rather, reinstated in) his high office, he seems to have made little of it and to have consistently avoided involvement with the new power. For example, not until 1922, just two years before he died, did he allow himself to be baptized as a Roman Catholic.

6. One of my most reliable informants on these matters is the Radja of Kewar himself, A. A. Bere-Tallo, the Bupati of Belu at the time of my stay on Timor. He has written a monograph, "Monografi Belu." In this chapter, I discuss south Belu primarily. The measures adopted for north Belu occurred simultaneously with those in the south and, the foreign administrators assumed, in harmony with them.

7. A *Korte Verklaring* was a "Short Declaration" that the Dutch colonial government required certain native rulers to sign. Phrased in general terms, it contrasted with the "Long Declarations" signed by some of the traditional Javanese Regents. The terms in the Long Declarations were set forth in considerable detail.

8. The ordinance that dealt with this was No. 69 of *Undang-undang pembentukan daerah-daerah swatantra tingkat II di Bali, Nusa Tenggara Barat dan Nusa Tenggara Timur* (Ordinances for the Formation of Second-Level Self-Governing Regions in Bali and Western and Eastern Nusa Tenggara). The critical term here is *swatantra*, which designates a local administration that is allowed an executive role as an instrument (Sanskrit: *tantra*) of the central government. *Swatantra* is in significant contrast with the prior status of these regions as autonomous (*swapraja*: from the Sanskrit *swa*, “self,” and *praja*, “rule”) provinces.

9. Thirty years after the burial, the broad depression caused by the collapse of the three-meter-thick bundle of cloths as they decayed in his tomb could still be seen.

10. The traditional functions of these two offices are nominally carried out by two lineage groups: Uma Nen (“Six Houses”) and Leo Walu (“Eight Settlements”). Van Wouden (1968) assigns a role to Dato Makerèk and Dato Badaèn that they do not, in fact, possess.

11. Myths suggest a variety of centripetal movements toward Wehali. Recent history provides one of considerable importance. In 1911, when the border was established between the Portuguese- and the Dutch-controlled portions of central Timor, there was panic. Whole villages (Suai, Kamanasa, Matai, Bolan, Wanibesak, to mention only villages of matrilineal Tetun) and thousands of people fled in fear of the Portuguese army and police. They sought refuge in Wehali for “there was no place else for them to go.”

12. Vroklage spent only two months in the south plain of the Tetun region. His posthumous work is thus also centered on north Belu. Father J. Buijs, Rector of St. Franciscus-Xaverius Mission House, looked through Vroklage’s fieldnotes at my request. In a letter dated March 18, 1965, he provided me with the list that I have quoted.

13. Boiled Woman and Broiled Man: Myths and Agricultural Rituals of the Bunaq of Central Timor

Claudine Friedberg

This chapter is based on material that L. Berthe and I collected among the Bunaq.

1. Maize was undoubtedly introduced into Timor by Europeans in the seventeenth century. Well suited to the ecology of the island, this grain today constitutes the staple of the Timorese diet. Rice has maintained a ceremonial value and is the food that is offered to guests.

2. This seems to be what happened in the past when all members of the community followed the traditional way of life exactly. In numerous Bunaq villages today, however, each person sows when he judges the moment opportune, but this tactic is not always successful. All the collective rituals for planting that I have attended were followed by heavy rain.

3. The term *Melus* is also used by the Tetun, neighbors of the Bunaq, to designate any population that was dwelling in the area when the an-

cestors of the present inhabitants supposedly arrived. I think that, in Bunaq at least, this term does not designate a particular population; rather, it seems to be used for all autochthonous populations.

4. *Deu* ("house") in Bunaq (as in French and English) means both a dwelling and a descent group (for example, the "House of Orleans"). In this chapter, "*deu*" in the first sense is denoted by the use of an initial lower-case letter; in the second sense, by the use of a capital letter. According to tradition, all members of one lineage are supposed to live under the same roof, that of the lineage house where the sacred objects are stored. In practice, however, most of the Bunaq live in conjugal dwellings and only an elderly couple, assisted by a few youths, live in the lineage house.

5. At the summit of the hierarchy in all Bunaq villages of Lamaknen is the *Deu* of the "feminine" chief, or *bein pana* (who, of course, is a man). Immediately beneath this House is the *Deu* of the "masculine" chief, or *bein mone*.

6. This is not the name of the sacrificed being, but a formula that designates him. *Loro* ("sun") is a title given to Tetun chiefs; *Dato* is a title accorded all nobles who hold a political office; *mone* signifies a boy, and *guloq* designates youngest child.

7. The Bunaq expression *lili gutu uen boto gutu uen* means literally "to make only one with flame and smoke."

8. This is the ritual name of the village of Abis.

9. The text reads *biso dato bin dato/biso loro bin loro*. Both "*biso*" and "*bin*" mean "seeds."

10. Each lineage has its own *bei gua*. The one cited here is the text collected by L. Berthe (1972), which gives the itinerary of the ancestors of three descent lines.

11. *Kintal* is a Portuguese term, used no doubt because of the great prestige the garden enjoyed after the Europeans arrived. The Bunaq words are *leo* and *helak*.

12. The *soqe* for the rice harvest is different from the *soqe* for the hunt.

13. *Ili goru* is *Podocarpus imbricatus* Bl., which grows only on the high mountains; *kaboqeq* is *Ficus septica* Burm., a shrub that keeps its leaves, even in the dry season.

14. I have attended the *tubilai* rituals twice, in 1969 and again in 1972, and both times the rains arrived before the rituals were completed.

15. Work in the fields takes less time among the Bunaq than it does among the Dawan because in Lamaknen all fencing of fields is collective and permanent.

16. It must be added that for the Bunaq a territory is defined by both its sky (*pan*) and its land (*muk*). To designate a place, one says "sky of such a place, earth of such a place." What I translate as "Master of the Earth" is always *Pan o Muk Gomo*.

17. This is not to say that the mythic theme of ritual murder and the

emergence of seeds from the corpse is linked everywhere with the origin of rice; indeed there are numerous versions of myths in which only tubers originate in this way (see Mabuchi, 1964).

14. Mambai Rituals of Black and White

Elizabeth Traube

This chapter is based on fieldwork in Aileu, east Timor, during the period October 1972–November 1974. The research was supported by a National Science Foundation Dissertation Grant and a National Institute of Mental Health Training Grant. I am especially indebted to James J. Fox, under whose direction I first thought of working in eastern Indonesia; his guidance and friendship have been a constant element over some five years of anthropological study. I would also like to thank Rodney Needham, whose wise counsel, understanding, and warm support have been of immeasurable importance in my most trying moments before, during, and after my stay in the field. And finally, my deep gratitude goes to Shepard Forman and his wife, Leona, whose presence on Timor during the second year of my stay transformed the experience, engendering what I believe was a mutually beneficial and strengthening system of exchange. The debt I owe to Kai Seu Aman, Mau Balen of Raimaus and to Mau Ters Aman, Mau Bere of Hohul cannot be adequately acknowledged here. Their names appear only occasionally, but their words run through the text. My hope is that they would recognize them.

1. James Fox and I have been especially struck by the extreme polarity between the tones of the Mambai and Rotinese religions, in which similar notions appear in markedly altered configurations. One contrast that we have loosely formulated at present has to do with native evaluations of formal ritual language. The Rotinese seem to spin elaborate webs of verbal deception purely out of appreciation and respect for verbal skill. Mambai ritual language employs similarly complex linguistic ruses, but the informing notion is always to conceal a deep religious truth. The Mambai symbolic world is a powerful one, in which deep truths are articulated in an idiom of heavy, brooding mysticism. To sever the structure of the ideas from the nuances of their expression would be to lose something essential to a full appreciation of their meaning.

2. According to das Dores (1907), *kaladi* is a type of greens commonly sold in the Dili market by the mountain peoples. The word was never really defined for me; it was never explained in terms other than its being a general derogatory tag. Its application to the Mambai is quite generalized and extends even to the eastern zone around Baucau. The Mambai equivalent is *kaira* (from *kair*: "to scatter" or "to sow") and apparently refers to their swidden pattern. The Mambai commonly speak of themselves as being *kaira* when they are stressing their own stupidity to an outsider, as they characteristically do.

3. In fact, for all my avowed interest in the primitive, these dire prog-

nostications, combined with my general inexperience, came very close to scaring me away from Mambai in the beginning. It later struck me as highly symbolic that one of those rare, early moments of communication and laughter that the Mambai and I experienced hinged on an open discussion of their celebrated secretiveness and the mutual fear we felt of one another.

4. Almost all irrigated fields in Aileu are owned by local Chinese and Europeans.

5. In Same, which I visited only briefly, I saw much larger hamlets, consisting of ten or more houses. That Same is a more fertile region than either Aileu or Maubisse may account for the increased centralization.

6. Under the Portuguese, Timor was divided in 11 *concelho*, each consisting of a number of administrative *posto*. These in turn were divided into a varying number of *suku*. Each *suku* comprised a number of villages (*povoação*) of varying size, but usually quite small. When I began my residence, Aileu was a *posto* in Ainaro, but on July 1, 1973, it was officially established as a *concelho*.

7. At present, I see no fixed pattern determining whether a new house is seen as "child" or as "younger brother" in relation to the old one, but certain general lines may be suggested. A house established relatively recently (that is, within the past two or three generations) is usually a child house. For houses whose segmentation goes back to mythic narratives, there seems to be some correlation with the dramatic action in the myth. For instance, if the tale portrays a feud between two brothers, the subsequent relationship of the houses is usually elder brother/younger brother; in tales which describe siblings' branching out and leaving only the eldest to "watch over the old mother/look after the old father" (*deiki ina main/bale ama main*), the relationship becomes one of parent/child. However, it would probably be a mistake to set up any rigid lines, for the same two houses may be described alternately as both parent/child and elder brother/younger brother.

8. Small cults vary considerably in size and scale. Although some have their own altar, the majority consist of only a cult house and a ritual post. There is a somewhat ambivalent attitude toward the establishing of a small house. Members of ritually prestigious centers (such as Hohul and Raimaus) often express strong disapproval of the segmentary process; though they themselves may live some distance from the center, they think that it would be improper to set up a separate house.

9. Beyond general ritual sanctions and notions of proper behavior, there is no means of forcing participation at such ceremonies, though more attention is devoted to recruiting for the rebuilding of a cult house than for participation in the calendrical fertility rituals. There is a constant refrain that is reiterated at all ceremonial events: "Nowadays, people no longer 'fear and obey the rock and the tree'" (*Ba tmau, ba cumfri hauta nor aia*). Nevertheless, attendance at crucial parts of the

Hohul and Raimaus ceremonies is usually over 500 and, despite all the bickering that goes on, these rituals remain an integral part of Mambai social life.

10. If a man wants to marry a woman from an unrelated house, he must first ask ritual permission of his *umaen-fun* ("wife-givers of origin," or "trunk wife-givers"). He must pay his *umaena* for the *seita nor aifa* ("the torch and the fire") to "light up his dark path" as he searches for a wife among strangers. Once a man has contracted an alliance with a previously unrelated house, that house becomes wife-giver to his own and the alliance may be continued in the next generation.

11. *Nai(n)* is the term for MB, WF, or any male of consecutive ascending generation from an *umaena* (wife-giving) house. The tag *nai ana hinan* means simply "daughter of a wife-giver." There is, in effect, no real term for the MBD. She is generally addressed by her personal name which, in itself, might be seen as a strong form of marking since personal names are normally avoided.

12. The traditional organization and the colonial system seem to have blended. Nevertheless, suku chiefs do tend to be drawn from cults associated with secular power in the native system. The ruler (*Am Reku*) of the so-called kingdom (*reino*) of Aileu comes from a traditional ruling house, though there are marked discrepancies in traditions dealing with the origin of its power. However, the Portuguese administration sometimes appointed someone from a low-ranking cult to the position of suku lord, as in the case of my Mambai "father." His house, Maun Teul, ranked as *alferes* ("lieutenant") but as suku lord, he was addressed as *Koronel*. It is, however, difficult to talk about "traditional" and "modern" when the present-day system is a product of some four hundred years of colonial contact.

13. The decision to hold a *keo*-style mortuary ceremony (*maet keon*) depends on the individual feast-givers and rests primarily on economic considerations. A *maet behan* is less costly, but also brings less return. However, the *keo* in fertility ritual and cult house rebuilding is a ritual prerogative of certain great cults. Thus, for example, in the yearly ceremony known as "to draw water" (*soi era*), the "children" houses first perform a small-scale *beha* version at their local cult springs, assembling later for the *keo* ceremony at the spring of the parent house.

14. In fact, my presence was often actively solicited. As an outsider and a European, I could testify that they had done nothing wrong, nothing peculiar or reminiscent of witchcraft. There is a constant refrain in the chanting at both Hohul and Raimaus:

<i>Au ba keo saun mosun id</i>	I do not keo something that falls suddenly from the sky
<i>Au ba noir saun dlesun id</i>	I do not teach something that bursts up from the earth
<i>Au keo si nam-isin</i>	I keo only the flesh of the field
<i>Au noir si nau-eran.</i>	I teach only the water of the palm.

The price of mystery is mistrust and suspicion. Endless stories are told in Hohul and Raimaus of their persecution at the hands of the secular lords. The masters of Hohul and Raimaus are accused of doing some nebulous wrong, though often the stories take on a marked political aspect. As guardians of an older order, they are indeed a structural, if forceless, threat to newer powers. They are the "Old Ones," the original source of power, and they believe that the "dog-nosed/bird-eyed" (*inun ausa/matan mauna*) lords of Aileu and Motain live in fear that they will someday seek to reclaim their heritage and "grab the rulership" (*hau Koronel*). Whether the rulers actually indulge such a fear I was never able to determine. But my study was indeed carried out against a background of fear, suspicion, veiled threats, and intrigue.

15. The Mambai word that I translate as "chanter" and "priest" is *kuka* (from *kuku*: "mouth"). Despite the clearly verbal association of the title (in the Ermera dialect such a person is called *kaes ubun*: "master of speech"), it seems more appropriate to think of *kuka* as priests than as bards. Although they are commonly regarded as the custodians of narrative traditions (in fact, however, many non*kuka* make better narrators), *kuka* are primarily ritual practitioners and their main function is to officiate at ceremonies. *Kuka* are further classified as either *kuk kassen* ("speaking *kuka*") or *kuk kdein* ("sitting *kuka*"). The former do all chanting and make the most important offerings; the latter are responsible for the minor offerings. The *kuka* in general have a bad reputation, and they are often portrayed as shiftless liars and drunkards.

16. These questions, of course, relate to precisely those subjects that are not to be talked about, least of all with a stranger, a European at that. My study proceeded in an almost mythlike style, a slow spiraling through the same elements repeatedly; each repetition wove a new strand into place, yet the spread widened.

17. Women are forbidden to enter Fad Fusun ("Center House"), the white house of Raimaus. It is said that should a woman enter, she would become sterile. The restriction, however, did not apply to me as an outsider, nor, I was assured, would the sanction.

18. Nama Rau, or Tat Mai Lau ("Highest Old Man") as it is known to both Timorese and Europeans, rising to 2,963 meters, is the highest mountain on Timor.

19. The lontar and sago palms (*diura nor taila*) of the coast are said to have grown in Our Mother's footprints to form a further buffer against the tides.

20. Corpses are, in fact, buried with the head to the east and feet to the west so that they can "search for the road" (*oid klai dan*), that is, follow the path of the dead westward. When I asked why humans are laid east to west when the Mother lies north to south, I was told that humans cannot imitate Our Mother. The east to west orientation and its rationale are similar in Roti (see Fox, 1973).

21. In folk etymology, the name Hohul derives from *ulun* ("head" or "hair").

22. Within the larger system, Tai Talo is opposed to its younger brother banyan, Loer Hoha, the sacred tree of Hohul. Tai Talo is associated with the nighttime and fertility; Loer Hoha's origin is linked with the daylight and the coming of law.

23. Proper order for all beings is modeled on the image of the tree. A man's "leaves" are his hair (*ulun* or *ulu noran*), and his "root" is his navel (*fusan*). The bat (*fnika*) is anomalous within this schema; it is said to be persecuted by all other animals as a punishment.

24. Numerous tales, many of quite recent origin, tell of searches for the Father. The failure to find him is always described with deep, quiet grief.

25. The symbolism and imagery in this part of the myth is too complicated and intricate to be elucidated in full here. The opposition between night and day—the creative death of the Mother and the coming of law—is developed in a long narrative that progresses from cosmology to epic. Law itself is polarized between the elder, ritual ban concretized in the *keora* (the ritual-house post) and the younger rule brought from "the water and the sea" (*era nor taisa*). The first law was not "heavy and weighty" (*rihu nor mdeda*) when the whites (the younger brothers of the black Timorese) fled over the seas in the beginning, carrying with them all the emblems of rule. The ancestors of Hohul and Raimaus followed them along the path of the dead to beg for the return of command. They received the "iron pole" (*rin beisa*)—that is, the flagpole—and with it a promise of the future arrival of the "studded leaf" (*nora fila*), the flag that the Portuguese brought when they returned to assume rule.

26. One day I burst out to Mau Balen and Mau Bere: "But if it's all just milk, then doesn't a man give anything toward making a baby?" I think they were a bit overwhelmed by my stupidity. Although it had been difficult to discuss sexuality in the beginning, it became considerably easier after this incident.

15. The Concept of the Field of Ethnological Study

P. E. de Josselin de Jong

1. In his introductory remarks, J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong (1977, p. 168) also speaks of the "structural core of *numerous* ancient Indonesian cultures in *many* parts of the Archipelago" (*italics added*).

2. This tool has also been applied, in a modified form, to the investigation of societies outside Indonesia. Held's (1935) study of ancient India is a notable example.

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